



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETHAN AGE

[A short monograph on Queen Elizabeth & her Times.]

BY

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THIRD EDITION.

CHUCKERVERTTY, CHATTERJEE & CO.,
BOOK-SELLERS & PUBLISHERS,
15, College Square.
CALCUTTA.

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[Price Re. 1/12,-

Published by
R. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.Sc.
15, College Square, Calcutta.

FIRST EDITION	1916
SECOND EDITION	1918
THIRD EDITION (thoroughly revised)	1924

AN APPRECIATION.

MR. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLAMS, M.A., formerly Professor of History, Allahabad University, and at present Director of Central Bureau of Information, Govt. of India and Author of 'India in 1919, &c,' Member Indian Legislative Assembly, writes from camp Allahabad, Home Department,—

“Thank you very much indeed for giving me your two books on the ‘Outlines of Modern Europe’ and ‘Elizabethan Age’. I think these will be extremely useful, and should satisfy a very wide demand. I am particularly attracted by the book on the Elizabethan Age. It is all too rare to find competent monographs, especially adopted for the use of Indian students dealing with this very important period.”

Printer : S. C. MAJUMDAR,
SRI GOURAṄGA PRESS,
71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following pages grew out of the lectures I prepared for the B. A. students of the Anandamohan College, Mymensingh. Their publication was quite foreign to my mind till it was suggested to me by Prof. D. N. Dutt; but for whose hearty co-operation and active collaboration they should not have appeared in the present form.

A word or two as to the *raison d'etre* of this little book. It has not been intended to add to the growing mass of cram-books with which the book-market and students are overburdened, but to present in an attractive and handy form the life and times of one of the most remarkable sovereigns ever born. Students may thus be led on from this little book to study the classics relating to this period in furtherance of the information they glean here. With this object in view, a list of the principal books on this period has been added.

N. N. DUTT.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

The authors take this opportunity of thanking the reading public for the generous way in which they have received the first and second editions of this little book. In the present edition, we have spared no pains to bring it up-to-date. The text has again been thoroughly revised, and besides other features of the book we offer a collection of Queen Elizabeth's 'sayings' which we hope will prove extremely interesting to the readers.

Calcutta,
October, 1924.

N. N. DUTT.
D. N. DUTT.

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A.D.

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THE ELIZABETHAN AGE.

INTRODUCTION.

The Age of Elizabeth is generally computed from the death of Henry VIII. (1547) to the accession of James I. (1603), thus covering a period of nearly sixty years. It was an epoch-making period of English history, when the two great forces of the Renaissance and the Reformation,—the one that roused Europe to new intellectual vigour and the other that re-christianised it, so to say—reached their culminating points. The process of re-christianising Europe through the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation gave rise, indeed, to a long series of mortal struggles between the followers of the new faith or the Protestants and those of the old or the Catholics. This war of rival confessions though fought to its bitter end, did not result in the complete victory of one over the other, but in the regeneration, more or less, of both. Catholicism survived but went through a long process of purification in the hands of its new Popes, and its new adherents, the Jesuits. The milder features of Protestantism, in the same way, were soon converted into the more austere form of Puritanism. With the growth of the latter,

The new age
of Freedom
1547—1603.

Its characteristics.

grew up the spirit of Democracy with which Reformation was early identified. Freedom of conscience as well as freedom of worship, and freedom of thought as well as freedom of speech became the religio-political creed of the new and rising parties everywhere. If the reign of Henry VIII. witnessed the triumph of the New Monarchy, Elizabeth's at least saw the approaching light of a new age of freedom. Nor were the signs of the Renaissance less conspicuous in the fields of material and intellectual progress. Colonial expansion and commercial activity were everywhere in evidence, both leading to a maritime enterprise of an unprecedented nature, while the Elizabethan literature proved to be the crowning glory of the age. The Age of Elizabeth thus saw many forces at work and the culmination of those forces into momentous issues. On one side, it constituted the closing period of the New Monarchy, and of the Renaissance and the Reformation in England, on the other, it ushered in a new age of democracy and liberty'.

Early life of the Queen 1533—1558.

A daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was born at Greenwich on Sept. 6, 1533—the day of the Virgin's Nativity. She was at once declared the heiress-presumptive to the throne, but her prospects were soon marred by the tragic circumstances attending her mother's death. She was pronounced

* It is singular that Elizabeth also died on the day of the Virgin's Annunciation. There was thus a divine prognostication, as it were, that she should live a virgin and die a virgin.

illegitimate and, for some time, exposed to the neglect and contempt which usually follow such a stigma. She was however brought up and educated in a manner befitting a royal lady along with her brother, Edward, both of whom were placed under a governess at Hatfield. She was a girl of thirteen when her father died.

The next few years of her life that followed her father's death were full of romance and tragedy. She came to live with Queen-Dowager Catharine Parr who took great interest in her. Catharine Parr had married Admiral Seymour (brother of the Protector Somerset) who was decidedly empty-headed though otherwise a magnificent court-figure. Seymour conceived the wild idea of marrying Elizabeth, and began to pay rather coarse attentions to her, which eventually became the subject of a regular court-scandal. The result was that Elizabeth had to be removed elsewhere ; but the mutual fascination that originated so early between Seymour and Elizabeth could not be suppressed so easily. On the death of Catharine Parr (1548), Admiral Seymour was again after his wild old project and actually proposed to Elizabeth. This overture she very prudently rejected. Seymour's conduct made him so notorious that he had finally to be got rid of on the scaffold. Elizabeth herself was not wholly spared and had to share some of his disgrace. But she was left unharmed to pursue her studies under Ascham to which she now diligently devoted herself. It was during this time that she acquired a working

Her girlhood

Elizabeth-Seymour episode and its consequences.

Her

education.

knowledge of Greek. Hebrew, French and other languages.[†]

Her position in the reign of Edward VI.

Edward VI. was much attached to Elizabeth with whom he was brought up. But the court-scandals estranged him from her, and for a time Elizabeth suffered from her brother's displeasure. Edward VI. was a staunch Protestant, but he had no faith in the religious attitude of his sisters. Mary was nominally a Protestant. Under the circumstances Edward VI. was easily persuaded by Northumberland to exclude both of them from succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey which he did by his will of 1553.

Her position during Mary's reign.

Elizabeth remained neutral during the short queenship of Lady Jane Gray but showed a decided enthusiasm for the success of her sister Mary when she secured the crown. Though Mary's cause was to a great extent her own yet the accession of the former brought in new dangers to her. Mary's religious policy produced a re-action against herself and in favour of Elizabeth. If during her brother's reign her reputation was at stake, in her sister's her very life was in danger. Wyatt's insurrection roused the suspicions of Mary that Elizabeth was within the conspiracy. Her execution was contemplated and even demanded by the Spanish ambassador as a condition of the proposed

Wyatt's rebellion and Elizabeth's supposed complicity, 1554.

* "She said that when she came to the throne, she knew six languages better than her own, and because I said that that was a great virtue in a princess she said that there was no marvel in a woman learning to speak, but there would be in teaching her to hold her tongue."
—M. de Maisse, French Ambassador at London, 1597-8.
Quoted by Chamberlin.

match with Philip. Surrounded by such dangers her attitude of extreme indifference and unconcern saved her from the block though it could not save her from the Tower. She was subsequently released after judicial enquiry but was kept under surveillance at Woodstock and Hatfield. Mary's religious changes forced her to conform to Catholicism. Throughout these days till Mary's death, she passed her life in close study of the current political problems with William Cecil, the eminent 'Political' of the age, keeping herself, at the same time, absolutely aloof from all practical politics. It is this study that equipped her so well to tackle the difficulties of her reign.

The early life of Elizabeth was characterised by girlish frivolities which persisted throughout her life. To this trait of character may be ascribed the early romances of her life, specially her flirtations with the aged Seymour, old enough to be her father. That manly virtues were the dominating features of Elizabeth's character almost goes without saying, yet she was a woman. Her feminine nature, her coquetry, her peculiar fondness for splendour and pleasure, all these she drew from her mother. "From her father she inherited her frank and hearty address, her love of popularity and of free intercourse with the people, her dauntless courage, and amazing self-confidence." With these she also inherited the vicious side of Tudor character, viz., impetuous will, unbounded pride and furious

Her character.

and untimely outbursts of temper. She was thus, as well-expressed by Green, 'at once a daughter of Henry and of Anne Boleyn.' Of womanly reserve she knew nothing, but always "delighted to take part in gorgeous pageants, fanciful and extravagant as a Caliph's dream." Her inordinate gaiety, her laughter and wit made Philip call her a 'wanton'. In fact never did a happy retort or a finished compliment fail to win her favour. Her love of finery, particularly in matters of dress, was notorious, and persisted even to a very old age. She was always well-pleased with flattery, particularly flattery of her beauty.

But in spite of these womanly vanities, her character, in fact, was "utterly without shade".* 'Wilfulness and triviality' only played over the surface of her nature. She lived simply and frugally, and was never tired of work. Her power of discerning ability was extraordinary. A pupil of Ascham, she had acquired a considerable literary proficiency, and she was well-acquainted with Sciences, Literature, Geography, Architecture and even Mathematics and Astronomy. She was thus the most accom-

* Nils Gyllenstjerna who was sent to England by Prince Eric of Sweden to report as to the truth about the rumours against Queen Elizabeth, thus wrote to his master: "I saw no signs of an immodest life, but I did see many signs of chastity, of virginity and of true modesty; so that I would stake my life itself that she is most chaste. She is beautiful and eloquent and wholly worthy of Your Majesty, in my judgment, at least, if there is any in all Europe who is."—Quoted by Chamberlin.

plished royal lady that could be found in the Europe of the day.

The intellectual culture of Elizabeth, high as it was, completely failed to influence the moral side of her character. She could least be swayed by any sentiment. "With her the heart never spoke." 'For the most part she was deaf to the voices either of love or of gratitude'. But if she was 'without love,' she was equally 'without hate'. Resentments she never cherished; to abuse she was always indifferent. At the same time, 'she was insensible to fear'. Her tenacity of purpose was unbounded, and no danger however great, no persuasion however cogent, could ever swerve her from her aims. The strength of character, such as this, could never make her any body's tool. Her resoluteness, no doubt, was sometimes shadowed by her womanly caution and timidity. But her feminine weakness, in this case was turned into a great political virtue. Her vacillations, sometimes extremely annoying even to her ministers, always brought her amazing success which was ascribed to the proverbial good fortune of Elizabeth, but which was really the result of a wise limitation of her aims.

Elizabeth's title to the throne rested on Parliamentary enactments as well as on Her title to the throne.
 "hereditary rights of descent as a daughter of Henry VIII. by his second wife." The enactments referred to are the Acts of 1536, of 1544, and Henry's Will of 1546 which had a parliamentary sanction. With the execution of her

mother Anne Boleyn in 1536, Elizabeth was declared illegitimate by an Act of Parliament. In 1544 however the stigma of illegitimacy was removed and she was placed after Mary in the order of succession. The Will of Henry VIII. in 1546 repeated the provisions of the Act of 1544 with the addition that the succession after Elizabeth was to open to the line of his (Henry's) younger sister Mary Brandon, and not to that of his elder sister Margaret, wife of James IV. of Scotland.

To those who considered that the marriage with Anne Boleyn was illegal, there being virtually no divorce from Catharine of Arragon, Elizabeth could never be the legitimate issue of king Henry VIII. The Pope and the Catholic world, as they repudiated the divorce, were never in a position to recognise Elizabeth as the lawful queen. In England however her claim was never doubted and immediately on Mary's death she was declared the true, lawful and right inheritress to the crown ; and this view was shared to a great extent by the English Catholics also.

Her
accession

Elizabeth
recognised
as the
queen
by all
except
the Pope.

Mary Tudor died on Nov. 17, 1558. The Parliament which was in session at the time at once declared Elizabeth as the rightful heir. In England, as we have seen, the claim of Elizabeth was never doubted. Archbishop Heath, a staunch Catholic was the first to recognise her as the lawful queen. Philip II. of Spain secured Catholic allegiance to her throne. From all quarters, therefore, with the single exception of the Papacy, Elizabeth was

sincerely welcomed to the throne. The English people had their reasons for welcoming her. They had no desire to court again the horrors of a disputed succession. They were also eager to see the end of religious persecution and the establishment of peace and order in its place. They had great confidence in the ability of Elizabeth, particularly in her ability to bring the peace they so badly wanted. To Elizabeth herself, the accession was 'the Lord's doing,' and the new responsibility "awed into seriousness her daring and self-confident character."

A contemporary account thus sums up the position : "the Queen poor ; the realm exhausted ; the nobility poor and decayed ; good captains and soldiers wanting ; the people out of order ; justice not executed ; all things dear ; division among ourselves ; war with France ; the French king bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and other in Scotland ; stead-fast enemies but no stead-fast friends." In fact, never had the fortunes of England sunk so low as at the accession of Queen Elizabeth. She was left without a friend except a doubtful one in Spain, which had just emerged as a great world power. The Franco-Scottish alliance and the claims of a pretender in the person of Mary Stuart were constant menaces to Elizabeth. The danger was further intensified by the French possession of Calais which gave them mastery over the English Channel. Added to these, Ireland proved another source of serious troubles.

Position of
England at
her
accession.

With these dangers from abroad, there were present no less difficulties at home. The people were at the point of revolt to which they were driven by the political humiliation they had sustained in the French war and also by the fires of Smithfield. Financially, England was on the verge of bankruptcy. Social discontent was being fed by the problems of poverty and unemployment. Religious strife continued in all its vigour, and while the Catholics were helplessly bound to Rome, the Protestants dreamt of revolutionary changes in church and state.

BOOK I.

RELIGIOUS STRUGGLES IN EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFORMATION.

The Reformation—the great religio-political movement of the sixteenth century had its origin in the growing protest against the Papal domination. The Papacy had become extremely corrupt ; the Popes forsook their religious duties and began to indulge more and more in matters secular. They also set up a sort of spiritual despotism which shackled the individual and the nation alike in the exercise of freedom of thought or the entertainment of independent opinion of any kind. But with the advent of the Renaissance or the New Learning, the age of rationalism came back to Europe. Men began to imbibe new knowledge and new ideas, and to indulge in free criticism which they could not exercise in the Scholastic age. The process was accelerated by the discovery of the New World and the invention of the Printing Press. The age of dogmas thus coming to an end, men began freely to criticise matters of religion and faith. It was being openly asserted everywhere

The Reformation, its origin.

The
pioneers
of the
movement.

that 'man was not made for the Church, but the Church for the man.' The people began to see that the existing religious system was absolutely detrimental to progress of any kind or in any direction. Earnest men like Wycliffe in England, John Huss and Jerome in Austria, Savanorola in Florence had alike felt the need of some reform in religion, and though their attempts ended in failure, they at least helped to prepare the minds of the European people for the inevitable schism in the universal church of Rome. It was reserved for Martin Luther in Germany to make use of this new spirit in reforming the old ecclesiastical system.

Effects of
the move-
ment.

The politics of the Middle Ages strangely mixed up the church and the state together. The existence of the one implied the existence of the other also. Destruction or derangement of the one implied the same to the other. Consequently when the Reformation was first set on foot, it directly resulted in a great schism. The Reformation and the Party took their birth almost at once. Some found a thorough religious change a necessity, others wanted to preserve the old system with only a few alterations ; and others again, more orthodox, stood against any change whatsoever. The differences of opinion became so acute that men gradually came to range themselves on one side or the other. Those who sided with the old church were known as Catholics, those in favour of the new became Protestants. Religion, thus, became the battle-ground of the

old and the new state of things, of the old and the new parties.

The effect of the Reformation was also felt in another way. Not only did it divide men on questions of faith and worship, but it vitally interested them, in matters like 'church-lands and sinécures', 'celibacy and marriage', mother-tongue and Latin,' and 'Mass and Common Prayer.' All this was due to the fact that "the old ecclesiastical system went down to the very foundation of daily life and affected almost everything that men did."

The Reformation introduced schism in still another way. The Holy Roman Empire maintained, at least, in theory the unity of the Christendom. The unity was snapped at the root immediately as the church and the state began to separate from Rome. The dislodgment of Rome from its universal spiritual dominion involved the necessary destruction of the fiction of the Holy Roman Empire. The religious schism meant also a great change in the political relations of European States, *inter se*.

The fiction of the Holy Roman Empire broken.

Besides these general effects, it is important to note that the Protestant movement first established itself without division in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. In Germany and Switzerland, the country became divided into Protestant and Catholic camps. England first separated from the Pope without making any change of religion. France, Scotland and the Netherlands came into the field later, but here the people took the initiative of the Reformation as against their own states. We may,

Beginning of the Protestant movement in Europe.

Its effects
in different
countries.

therefore, trace the fortunes of the Reformation which took the following directions in the countries concerned respectively :

(1) A temporary toleration was devised in Germany.

(2) Separation from Rome helped the growth of Protestant opinions in England which were also necessary for the political growth of the country.

(3) The political and religious changes were effected in Scotland in the same blow. The changes were entirely due to the people themselves who unanimously accepted Protestantism as against their own sovereign, counteracting at the same time the political domination of France.

(4) Struggle for liberty and religious persecution fostered Protestantism in the Netherlands ; here also, the country remained long divided between Catholicism and Protestantism, only tempered by a desire for political unity as against Spain.

(5) Civil war was the direct result of the religious schism in France ; Catholicism however proved too strong for its opponent and finally triumphed over the latter.

The
religious
issues centre
round
England
and Spain.

It remains to be noticed that the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe gradually came to centre round England and Spain—England unhampered as she was by foreign or civil war—Spain as the chosen champion of the Pope. The result of this was of immense consequence. The ambition of Spain to champion Catholicism

proved its ruin and on its decline England began to take the foremost position in Europe.

The German Reformation starts with Martin Luther's attack on the notorious Papal Indulgences in 1517. It at once produced a division among various German states, some following Luther, some remaining staunch to the Pope. Emperor Charles V. at first subordinating religion to politics extended a policy of toleration towards the Lutheran states allowing each to conduct its own religious affairs (*cf. Recess of Speier, 1526*). But the Emperor soon found out his mistake. He found that a Pope was indispensable and in 1529 he passed a decree against all ecclesiastical changes. This evoked strong 'protest' from the Lutherans. The Protestant secession was henceforth to become complete. The Confession of Augsburg which defined the creed of Protestantism was drawn up and published in 1530. It was met by another edict from the Emperor which forbade the preaching of the Reformed faith. Now the breach between the Lutheran princes and the Emperor came to a head resulting in the famous Schmalkaldic League.

Progress of
German
Reformation.

Emperor
Charles V
and the
Lutheran
movement.

The object of Charles's opposition was apparent. Without unity of religion there could be no unity within the Empire. The Empire as he himself deplored 'had become a shadow' and his efforts in the direction of toleration and reconciliation having failed, he was finally determined 'by means of kingdoms, powerful territories and connexions which God had given him to restore it to its

ancient glory." So he took a very bold step now to compel the Pope to summon a religious council at Trent with a view to arrive at a final religious settlement between the rival sects. The Lutherans fearing that they would be in a minority in the council, refused to attend. Hence the war of the Schmalkaldic League (1546).*

For a moment Charles seemed to carry success with him. He defeated the League at Muhlberg and thus became, for the time being, the arbiter of the German states. But this aroused the jealousy of the Pope who, alarmed at the success of Charles, at once transferred the Council from Trent to Bologna. Thus cut off from the Papal support, Charles V. now tried to bring about religious peace by issuing the famous 'Interim' (1548).*

The Interim failed to please either of the parties, and Charles alienated both by his attempt to enforce it throughout Germany. The national feeling of the German States was roused against him : and this led to another war. Maurice of Saxony now left Charles and joined the Protestant princes who had already secured the assistance of the French. Charles sustained an inglorious defeat, and fled from Inspruck while the French took Metz, Toul, and Verdun. By the Convention of Passau (1552) followed by the more important Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) Charles accepted the principle of '*Cujus regio ejus religio*'. It was a death-knell to his cherished dream of the revival of

the Roman Empire. Protestantism now for the first time obtained a legal position in Southern as well as Northern Germany. The Religious Peace of Augsburg, however, left the question of the church-property unsettled by the 'Ecclesiastical Reservation,* by which the property of a convert to Protestantism was to be retained for the Catholic church. Though this 'reservation' was not accepted by the Protestants, the early phase of the religious struggle in Germany was brought to a close. There was no fresh outbreak of war in Germany on religious grounds till the Thirty Year's War.

The Diet of
Augsburg

England first came into close relationship with the Papacy in the reign of William the Conqueror; but that monarch was shrewd enough not to allow the Pope to dominate the English church. The policy of the subsequent kings, also, was not to allow Papal encroachments as far as as possible. In fact Parliament passed several statutes against Papal aggressions *viz.*, those passed during the reigns of Edward I., and Edward III. The movement against the Papacy, as initiated by Henry VIII., was therefore not entirely a new thing in England. So long as the Popes were more powerful than kings, they were able to dominate them. With the decline of the Popes and the rise of the Kings, the position was reversed. A powerful king like Henry VIII. would little hesitate to break with the

England and
the Papacy ;
their early
relations.

The breach
with Rome.

* See Appendix B.

Pope on the very first opportunity. Such was in fact the case when Parliament in 1533 transferred the Supreme Headship of the Church from the Pope to the King.

The English
Reformation
its causes.

For the origin of this movement we must go back to the days of John Wycliffe. It was he who first gathered together in himself and expressed the religious dissatisfaction of Europe. This had three main causes: firstly the dissatisfaction with the headship of the Pope; secondly, the desire for clerical reform and for rendering the church more useful, and thirdly, the conviction that the mediæval church-system did not embody the teachings of Christ and primitive apostolic customs. Wycliffe began his career by maintaining the theory of a complete separation of the church and the state. Above all he insisted on a greater simplicity and spirituality of life. The worldliness of the Pope was denounced as anti-Christian, and an attempt was made to give a national character to the English Christianity by translating the Bible and holding communion in English. His theme was that the church should depend for its rule on the Law of the Gospel. Ceremonialism he altogether discarded as idolatry. Thus Wycliffe "united in his teaching the three principles which brought about the Reformation—a strong sense of national patriotism, a deep desire for greater spirituality of life, and an acute criticism of the doctrines on which the existing system of the church was founded."

The
teachings
of Wycliffe.

The failure of Wycliffe and his Party, the

Lollards, was due to causes other than popular and ecclesiastical condemnation. Their greatest sin was that they were political, for which they had to see their end in suppression. But the influence they left, endured till it revived with the advent and growth of the Renaissance.

Wycliffe's failure.

The Wars of the Roses had important consequences viz. the ruin of the feudal nobility and the rise of the middle class. The new system of education that the Renaissance brought in, at once exposed the emptiness of the church. The desire for reform was thus again aroused and was felt even by men like Wolsey. The suppression of the monasteries is an early indication of the new English Reform movement. The separation of the church from Rome that followed the question of Divorce made Henry VIII, the Supreme Head of the Church. This was followed by the Submission of the Clergy who had now to recognise, contrary to the principle they hitherto followed, the spiritual headship of the King instead of that of the Pope. This recognition was a fatal blow to English Catholicism as the latter without the Pope was inconceivable. The doctrinal changes that were required to complete this separation were not, however, attempted by Henry VIII. Presumably, he was against the ideas of Luther and the Oxford Reformers like Erasmus, Colet, More, Cranmer and others. His orthodoxy led him to pass the Six Articles which prescribed the punishment of death on all who should call

Progress of English Reformation.

Henry VIII.

into question the principal dogmas and practices of the existing church.

Edward VI. The hands of the Reformation went no further in the reign of Henry VIII. In the reign of Edward VI. the pent-up energy of the Reformers again exhibited itself. Party-antagonism over religious questions was also aroused. The more moderate of the Reformers, now headed by Cranmer, led the way to further religious change. Their attempt first bore fruit in the Prayer-Book of Edward VI. and the Book of the Homilies. Erasmus' Bible was also freely distributed for reading in the churches. The Six Articles were repealed and the Statutes against Lollardy were rescinded. The removal of statues and frescoes from churches further marked this stage of reform. These measures, in spite of their violent character in some cases, had the hearty approval of every right-thinking man in England. The people of London and other large towns were almost universally in favour of reform. Discontent against all changes, however, smouldered in the country and insurrections broke out in Devon, Cornwall, and Norfolk for the restoration of the old religion, but were suppressed.

This first phase of reform in the reign of Edward VI., which was the handiwork of Somerset, was soon to be followed by a more violent phase of Protestant misrule inaugurated by the Earl of Warwick, the new Protector. The First Prayer Book did not satisfy the more zealous reformers, and hence, in 1552, a

Second Prayer Book was issued which was acceptable even to the followers of Zwingli and Calvin. The formularies of the church were also set forth in the Forty-two Articles to which all churchmen had to subscribe. Conformity was enforced by imprisonment and the followers of the old religion were either deprived of their sees or committed to the Tower. (*Cf. the cases of Gardiner, Bonner etc.*)

England was now decidedly Protestant. But it is significant to note that the leading statesmen who carried out the movement were influenced by some selfish motive or other. Consequently the English Reformation had no solid basis at first ; it was the work of politicians based on purely political motives, towards which the people in general were utterly unsympathetic and uninterested. To this cause were due the many acts of repression on the part of the government of Warwick. Its justification lay in the fact that it was necessary for the maintenance of church-unity which again was essential for social order and national strength.

The English Reformation not at first a national movement.

The Protestantism of Edward VI., we have seen, was not a national movement. The reaction under Mary drew the people more towards it, and it was left to Elizabeth to give it a national shape and character.

"Half a Spaniard by blood and wholly a Spaniard by feeling" Mary was a Catholic at her very best. It was natural then that she fondly wished to restore Catholicism in England when she came to the throne. In doing

The
Catholic
reaction
under Mary
Tudor.

this she counted upon the support of her cousin, Emperor Charles V., who advised her first to secure her throne without offending the people by a policy of moderation and tolerance in religion and by entering into alliance with the Emperor by marrying his son Philip, and then to restore the old religion gradually by legal means.

But at this time the position of the Reformers was hopelessly bad. The failure of Northumberland's plot to secure a Protestant succession in Lady Jane Grey, in the place of Mary and Elizabeth, had hopelessly discredited them ; and on Mary's accession some of them were imprisoned while others fled to the continent. The middle class in large towns favoured the new changes in religion, while the country people wished to go back to the old faith, but free from Papal authority. Mary herself began to attend the Mass and, in many places, the Catholic services were restored ; the Catholic bishops were re-instated in their sees from which they had been driven in Edward's reign, and the reforming bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and many others were sent to the Tower. Gardiner, who had been delivered from the Tower, was appointed Lord Chancellor and became the queen's chief adviser in religion. The Prayer Book of Edward VI. was set aside and all the religious changes of his reign were annulled.

Mary's
marriage-
scheme
with Philip.

Religion was thus restored to the condition in which it stood at Henry VIII.'s death. But Mary, an ardent Catholic, was anxious to

restore the authority of the Pope and also to marry Philip, the son of Emperor Charles V., in order to strengthen her position. Englishmen however disliked the idea of the proposed match as it foreboded not only the submission of England to the Papacy but also her reduction to a dependency of a powerful foreign monarchy. The Parliament, therefore, petitioned her to refrain from such a marriage. But finding the queen, determined to marry Philip, after rejecting the hands of even such Englishmen, as Reginald Pole and Courtenay (Earl of Devon), Chancellor Gardiner at last had to arrange the terms of the Spanish marriage, fully protecting the national interests. According to these terms Philip was to have no royal title over England, no rights of succession, nor any hand in the English administration.

As a consequence of this Spanish marriage-scheme, the extreme Protestants organised several risings, the most important of which was that of Wyatt in Kent. But Mary won over the citizens of London by addressing them at the Guildhall and promising not to marry without the approval of Parliament. The rising of Wyatt was suppressed with little difficulty. Suffolk, Wyatt, Lady Jane Grey and her husband Guilford Dudley were sent to the block and Elizabeth was sent to the Tower on suspicion that she was in the conspiracy. Parliament now gave its approval to the marriage-scheme, and Mary gave her hand to Philip in July, 1554.

Meanwhile, the religious views of Gardiner

had changed. He had been the head of the national church-party in England since the days of Henry VIII., and his idea had been to free the English church from Papal control without any change in its doctrines. Now he realised that the severance of the English church from the Pope would inevitably lead to the repudiation of the Catholic doctrines, and he began to insist on immediate coercive measures against the reformed faith.

Its results.

The Parliament now re-enacted the Statute for burning the heretics, reconciled the Church of England to the See of Rome by repealing Henry's Act of Supremacy, and allowed the Papal Legate, Cardinal Pole, to receive the submission of the Church to the Papacy. The Catholic reaction had now firmly set in, and the victorious Catholics entered upon a career of persecution. Bishops Roger, Hooper, Taylor, Ridley, Latimer and Cranmer were burnt at the stake, and in course of three years some 277 persons had to suffer death for their religious opinion. People were shocked at such a persecuting policy of the government, and attributed it to Spanish interference. Mary earning the unfortunate surname of the 'Bloody'.

The nobles and the gentry soon found that Mary's submission to Rome was going to affect their vital interests. Pope Paul IV. began to insist on the return of the abbey lands confiscated during the reign of Edward VI. Mary, anxious to comply with the Pope's demand, proposed the restoration of the monastic lands

held by the crown. The proposal at once alienated the nobles who feared that their own lands would be similarly resumed. Mary's difficulties increased with the sterner attitude of the Pope who now, to force Mary's hands, deprived Pole of his Legatine powers. This produced a breach between Mary and the Pope, each threatening the other with revenge. The people, always unfriendly to the Pope, lost all faith in the Catholic church. The estrangement with the Pope was not confined only to England. The Pope had befriended France and wanted to drive the Spaniards out of Italy. War soon broke out between the Pope and France on one side, and Philip on the other. The latter induced Mary to join him, and thus the breach with the Pope became complete.

The Catholic reaction therefore sadly failed. Mary could please neither the people nor the Pope, and the political circumstances attending the French war almost broke her heart. Conscious of her failures and oppressed by them she died in 1558, leaving all she did to be undone again by her successor.

Failure
of the
Catholic
reaction
and the
death of
Mary.

Reformation in England and Germany had its origin in the protests directed against the existing church-abuses. In France, on the contrary, it arose out of a genuine desire of its people for a 'new system of life by which each man might realise more entirely his relationship to God.' French Reformation, thus, called for a thorough change of national life, and as such was more revolutionary in character than the Reformation in Germany or in England. It

French
Reformation
—its origin.

was this peculiarity of the French movement that awoke such fierce opposition from the conservative sections of the country. Its effect was unmistakable. Whereas in other countries, the religious dispute was mainly a matter between the prince and the people, in France it assumed the character of a great contest between the two rival sections of the same people. In other words, the Reformation in France gave rise to a disastrous civil war called the 'War of Religion'.

Progress
of the
movement.

Francis I. as political rival of Charles V. was in favour of reform, and during his reign Protestantism made rapid progress. But the opposition of the conservative section of the people was soon roused. Paris strongly declared itself for the old church. Francis himself, though an ally of the German Protestants, was driven to persecute at home. Henry II., his successor, carried on this persecution vigorously and this drove the French Reformers to Geneva. Henceforth, the Swiss capital became the stronghold of the French Protestantism. John Calvin, himself a Frenchman, was unsparing in the preaching of his new faith. His organisation, it may be noticed, vitally differed from the organisation of Luther. The latter was anxious to retain the patronage of the princes, and proposed to vest all authority in religion to them as the price of their support. The Lutheran system, therefore, was monarchical in character. The system of Calvin, on the contrary, rested entirely on a democratic basis. Religious authority, instead of being

placed in the hands of princes, was given to the congregation or the community of worshippers themselves. Rigorous church discipline was enforced. Its creed advocated opposition to princes whenever it was required. The princes according to Calvin were natural impediments to all progress, and hence they were looked down upon by him. The influence of such doctrines as these was immediately manifest on the people, particularly those oppressed by monarchs like Henry II. of France, Philip II. of the Netherlands and Spain, and Mary of Guise, the Queen-Regent of Scotland. Hence Calvinism spread like wild fire into all these countries. When Henry II. died in 1559, the number of French Protestants or Huguenotes had so enormously increased that they were able to set up independent congregations of their own throughout France.

Calvinism—
its creed.

Such was the position of the reform movement in France when the notorious Guise policy of Protestant persecution, tried in that country as well as in Scotland, gave rise to a civil war in the former and a national war of independence in the latter.

England and Scotland, in spite of long standing enmity, were brought into friendly relations by the marriage of Margaret, a daughter of Henry VII., with king James IV. Henry VIII. when he was attacking the monasteries in England, invited his nephew to handle the monasteries in the same way. The Scottish clergy took alarm and in order to protect their

Scotch
Reformation.

interests, stirred up their own king against Henry VIII. This led to a war with England which ended in the death of James V. (1542). His death left the Scottish crown to his infant daughter Mary, whose mother Mary of Guise now became the Regent of Scotland. In Mary Stuart, Henry VIII. saw the fulfilment of his cherished desire for the union of England and Scotland by a political marriage between his son and the heiress of Scotland. This would have followed as a matter of course, but his haughty and over-bearing conduct offended the Regent and made the possibility of the match more remote. There was however a marriage treaty concluded between England and Scotland, but before the agreement could be fulfilled Henry VIII. died (1547).

When Edward VI. came to the throne, protector Somerset demanded the fulfilment of the treaty which was refused by the Regent. Somerset impudently led an army into Scotland to enforce the match, with the result that though he obtained a military success, the Scottish people sent over their Queen to France where she was subsequently engaged to the Dauphin. The English hope of union was thus rudely shattered, and at the same time a new source of danger arose from this Franco-Scottish alliance.

Its origin.

The Scottish church was as corrupt as the English church in the days of Henry VIII. The suppression of the monasteries and the confiscation of the church-property in England

had produced a profound sensation in Scotland. It immediately gave birth to a popular movement in favour of reform which had to look to England for support. The cause of this movement was further advanced by the policy of Mary of Guise, the Regent, who out of her enmity to Mary Tudor gave shelter to the Protestant refugees from England. She even extended some concessions to these newcomers and they were allowed to preach their new doctrines in Scotland. But the effect of her policy was far from what she had desired. Protestantism rapidly spread into Scotland leading to the formation of a powerful Association, called the Lords of the Congregation, to effect a thorough religious change. The new religious attitude of the people also produced a change of feeling in favour of England. The French predominance to which Scotland had been subjected was becoming a gall to them. They felt that though it might be useful for them to play off the French against the English with a view to secure their independence, still if they were to be dependant on one or the other, they should rather prefer the English as a neighbour. Their choice therefore lay between the French protection and Catholicism, and English alliance and Protestantism. Against the Regent, they decided to choose the latter course.

The Scottish Reformation in its origin was thus essentially a popular movement. It drew its inspiration from the earnestness of a great leader and the presence of a common political

John
Knox.

His early
career.

Influence
of Calvin
upon Knox.

object. The leader they found in John Knox, while the political object was to secure a complete national freedom from French domination. A man of good education, Knox had taken up Protestantism with the fire and zeal of a proselyte. In the early stage of the struggle he was a preacher appointed by the Lords of the Congregation. Before long he was imprisoned and sent to the galleys, whence he subsequently escaped to England and thence to Geneva. Here he came under the influence of John Calvin and published his famous attack on Mary Tudor, called 'The Monstrous Regimen of Women.' It was this attack that made him afterwards so much odious to Queen Elizabeth. Not only was he opposed to the rule of women but he had also imbibed the extreme democratic ideas of Calvin. When he returned from Geneva he had come back with a determination to carry out his new ideas into practice. Politics though he never cared much for, it was eagerly made use of to secure his ends. "Utterly fearless, never giving way for an instant, not to be deterred by threats or won over by fair promises, he went upon his own course." Taking upon himself as his highest duty the suppression of Popery, he paid no respect either to decorum or to compassion for human weakness. For these austere virtues, he was alike the terror of the powerful and an idol of the people.

With such a man as its head the Scottish Reformation was never more sure of success as

now. At first a purely religious movement, it acquired a political aspect from the changed attitude of the Regent who, finding the mistake of her previous policy, was determined now to strike the Scottish Reformation at its very root. This estrangement between the people and the Regent produced a great turmoil. In 1559 the Regent summoned the Reformers to appear before her, and on their refusal were banished. The sentence was taken as a signal for open revolt. Knox was unceasing in his assaults on the Romish idolatry. The people of Perth, where Protestantism early found home, rose smashing all images and decorations within the churches of the city. Similar movement spread in other towns followed by similar outrages. On the other hand, in the midst of violence, they were also setting up congregations everywhere, reading the Prayer Book of Edward VI., and doing everything which would make the return of the Mass impossible. Thus within a short time the very shadow of Roman Catholicism disappeared from Scotland.

Disappearance of Catholicism from Scotland.

CHAPTER II

Elizabethan Settlement of the Church.

The
religious
difficulties
of Elizabeth
at her
accession.

The Catholic reaction under Mary was a failure from the very first. So the people of England confidently looked for a fresh religious change in the reign of Elizabeth. It was generally calculated that Elizabeth would be the last person to perpetuate the system founded by her sister. Such a thing indeed was obviously impossible for her to do. On the contrary it seemed clear that whatever new shape the English church might take, it could not be a Romish one any longer. The Protestant exiles, therefore, confidently returned home but were imbued with more violent ideas of Calvinism. The religious difficulties, which Elizabeth had to meet, it may be seen, arose first, from the position of the Catholics who were bound helplessly to Rome and who formed the majority of her subjects, secondly, from the position of the moderate Protestants, represented by the party of her minister Cecil, who, though in the minority, were the ablest and the most energetic of her people, and thirdly, from the advent of a new party of Protestant extremists afterwards called the Puritans. To satisfy equally all these parties was beyond her power. To effect a religious settlement founded on the unity of the church system, under

these circumstances, was a task that could hardly be accomplished, without offending one party or the other. Such a settlement again could not fail to be one-sided. Hence we find that though she proposed just to fall back on her father's system, she was, in fact, preparing for momentous changes which were to give the English church a protestant and a national character.

To the outsiders, Elizabeth's faith appeared to be that of the Catholics. As a matter of fact she was inclined by taste and feeling to Catholic rituals and ceremonies ; but to religion as such she was wholly indifferent, though it could not be said that she went to the length of being godless. Having no tender conscience, she was seldom tormented by a sense of sin. She was absolutely untouched by the theological disputations of her time and considered religion as a matter of what was most reasonable and convenient. 'A child of the Italian Renaissance rather than of the New Learning of Colet or Fransmus', she had an equal intellectual contempt for the superstition of the Papists as for the bigotry of the Protestants. Like Henry IV. of France, she held that "a kingdom was well worth a Mass". Considering the theological differences from a purely political point of view and caring chiefly for the public order, she could neither be a prig like her brother nor a zealot like her sister in matters of religion ; but at any rate she was determined to resume the full ecclesiastical supremacy as had been enjoyed by her father.

Her
personal
attitude
towards
religion.

Her
religious
policy,
based on
ecclesiastical
supremacy.

Toleration
in religion.

The first and foremost interest in her mind, in connection with religion was the interest of public order. To ensure it she, first of all, refused to meddle with the conscience of her subjects. To Catholics and Protestants alike she allowed perfect liberty of religious opinion. This, did not mean that she was an absolute tolerationist. The religious toleration of Elizabeth was a toleration of doctrine only and not of worship. It could not be otherwise because the uniformity of the church was a political necessity in her days, and there could be no such uniformity without uniformity of worship. In fact, political unity and religious uniformity were, in these days, so interdependent that no one, whether, a politician or a reformer could ever think of the one without the other. Here, even Elizabeth and Calvin, standing almost on two opposite poles of political thought, found themselves in agreement. But Elizabeth's place, in one respect, was higher than that of Calvin's. While the latter could not extend freedom of conscience to his adherents, the former, though rigorously exacting outward conformity to her church system, did allow liberty of opinion to her subjects.

Her Church
settlement.

In matters of religion, we thus find Elizabeth at once return to the policy of her father. But the church, as established by the Parliament of Mary, was not all at once changed. The Mass went on as before. She herself did not initiate any change in her coronation ceremonies and readily took the customary oath to observe

the liberties of the church. At the same time she resolutely asserted the claim of her Supremacy in opposition to that of the Pope. To put her position on a legal basis she passed the Act of Supremacy which declared her the 'Supreme Governor of the Church'*. This less pretentious title was adopted with a view to conciliate the more extreme Catholics although the nature of the supremacy remained precisely the same as before. The penalties attending the Oath of Supremacy were, however, much relaxed. To deny the supremacy of her father was high treason, while to deny the same to Elizabeth would at most be punished with imprisonment. The penalty of treason, however, was dealt out only in extreme cases.

But in spite of Elizabeth's disinclination for change, she had to satisfy the Protestants. They were the rising party in England, and, though less numerous, were by far the abler and more vigorous of her subjects. The breach with Pope Paul IV., who had refused to recognise her, at once threw her on their support. But the support of the Protestants had to be purchased with religious concessions. So long as the danger from France was threatening her, she could do little which would offend the Catholics. But after her position was strengthened by the peace of Cateau-

* Henry VIII had assumed the title of the 'Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England as far as the law of Christ allows'. Elizabeth adopted on the other hand, a less odious title as above.

Real
character
of the
change.

The
Thirty-nine
Articles
1564.

Cambresis (1559) whereby the French king recognised her succession, she took the earliest opportunity to restore the English Prayer-Book. This restoration was undoubtedly a great concession to the Protestants ; but Elizabeth took every care to expunge all offensive portions from the Prayer-Book of Edward VI. Its introduction however was *prima facie* no change of importance. It was essentially the old prayers in Latin, now rendered into English. But the only hard point about it was that non-conformity in any form was not allowed and an Act of Uniformity was passed to enforce the same on the clergy on pain of deprivation (1559).

If the Act of Supremacy settled the government of the church and the Act of Uniformity its worship, a step further still remained to be taken to make the change complete. It was the settlement of the doctrine. But this was not touched by Elizabeth till 1563, when the Thirty-nine Articles (Forty-two of Edward VI.) embodying the doctrines of the church were first introduced. These Articles were finally adopted by Parliament in 1571. Elizabeth purposely delayed this change. Primarily the doctrines would interest the clergy, and as such their value was merely theological. But theology in those days was of the utmost political significance. A change in doctrine along with changes of worship and of church government would necessarily be a change of great consequence, so much so that in ordinary circumstances it might naturally lead to a revolution.

It was to guard against such a possibility that Elizabeth preferred to wait till she was sure of her power. The Articles of Faith, therefore, were long kept in abeyance till the Catholics ceased to be a danger to her.

The effects of the religious changes of Elizabeth were significant. While purporting to conform mainly to the Catholic church, she had by successive Acts, shaped the church in quite another mould. The national Church of Elizabeth was neither Catholic nor Calvinistic. But whatever it was, it was decidedly Protestant in character. The old service was gone. Celibacy almost ceased to be observed in practice.* The old bishops were invariably replaced by the new. The royal supremacy was restored. All connection with Rome was broken. This breach at least established the great principle of the Reformation that the form of a nation's faith should be determined not by the clergy but by the nation itself. The attitude of the nation also was unmistakable. At every critical moment of the religious strife England had always ranged herself on the side of Protestantism. At the same time the change effected so cautiously and introduced so imperceptibly proved not merely beneficial to England but also to the neighbouring states. England gave a new impulse to the religious revolution in Scotland. It made the freedom of the Dutch Republic possible. It broke the power of Spain

Character of the Church Settlement.

Evolution of the national church.

The political effects of the change.

* The law against clerical marriage was not repealed by Elizabeth.

and dealt a death blow to absolutism for ever. And last, though not the least, it gave security to the Huguenots from future violence at the hands of their own brethren at home. In fact, as truly observed by Green, "Had England remained Catholic, no Henry IV. would have reigned in France to save French Protestantism."

Effects
of the
settlement
in England.

Wide
loop-holes
left for
each sect
for worship
as each
desired.

A religious
chaos.

The Elizabethan church though apparently founded on a solid basis utterly failed in guiding the masses in spiritual matters. This was mainly because differences of opinion which Elizabeth would not interfere with were too great among her subjects. Her church settlement did not satisfy the Protestants because many Catholic practices were retained intact. The Catholics were dissatisfied on account of the Protestant character of the church, and the Act of Supremacy which was, in fact, their principal grievance. But one thing that the settlement did for all was to leave wide loop-holes for each party to conduct its worship just as it liked. The consequence was that the same church was used for worship both by Protestants and Catholics. The same priest would celebrate the Mass at his parsonage for the Catholics and again administer the new communion in the church to the Protestants. A state of things such as this was nothing but a veritable chaos in religion. Sometimes a difference of opinion, would lead to some violence preventing any sermon being delivered at all. "In many churches they have no sermons, not one in seven years, and some not

one in twelve."* It was also seen, that many churches had neither vicars nor curates. Wherever these existed, a good many of them could only rouse popular disgust by their violence and greed. Their marriages became standing scandals in society. Religious instructions were rarely given ; and the worst of it was that people forgot the Ten Commandments and even their Articles of Faith. 'The bulk of Englishmen became devoid of religion to whom the church appeared nothing more than a place of amusement.'

The religious confusion which had immediately followed the settlement of Elizabeth Parker and the new settlement was however very firmly handled by Archbishop Parker who had succeeded to the see of Canterbury after Pole. The vacant sees were filled by more earnest Protestants. The plunder of the church was checked and under his wise administration of the Church, England was quietly settling down to a more enduring religious peace.

Treaty
of Berwick
and
Elizabeth's
league with
the
covenanters.

with money. But secrecy could not long be maintained. The danger of a Franco-Scottish invasion appeared greater every day, and in 1560 by the Treaty of Berwick Elizabeth entered into a formal league with the Covenanters under the cover of a defence of the national liberties of Scotland against the encroachments of France.

Anglo-
Scottish
war against
France.

In the meantime, war was being zealously prosecuted between the Scots and the French on behalf of the Regent. Elizabeth appointed Lord Grey to command the English army in Scotland. An English fleet was also equipped to prevent the French re-inforcements from coming to Scotland. But the French, though unsuccessful at first, gradually recaptured Edinburgh and were gallantly defending Leith. At this point fortune most unexpectedly favoured Elizabeth and the Scots. France, soon after, was being torn to pieces by religious conflicts at home. The death of the Regent (1560), as well as the disaster to the French fleet, which was shattered by storm in the Channel, drove France to come to immediate terms. The Treaty of Edinburgh, or of Leith as it was called, (1560), was separately concluded between France on one hand and England and Scotland on the other. In the English treaty, the French king acknowledged Elizabeth as the lawful queen of England ; in the Scottish treaty, France agreed to withdraw the French soldiers from Scotland leaving the Scottish Parliament to settle its own affairs of religion and government. The treaties, how-

Treaty of
Edinburgh
or of
Leith.

Its terms.

ever, were not confirmed by Mary Queen of Scots.

The Treaty of Edinburgh thus brought to an end the first phase of the religious struggle in Scotland. The Calvinistic Confession of Faith was adopted, the Papal jurisdiction abolished, and the Mass prohibited under penalty of death. The Lords of the Congregation thus triumphed in the end, and the Scottish Reformation was complete. On the other hand, England was freed from the danger of a French invasion. This security had a very favourable effect on the position of England. From the 'Sick Man of Europe' she at once rose to be one of the greatest of the European Powers. Henceforth she was to stand as an unmistakable champion of Protestantism in Europe. The moral effect of this new position of England was also as great. At home order was restored, the church re-organised, the crown-debts paid off, the treasury re-filled, a Navy created, and an army organised. It was to this new strength that Elizabeth looked with confidence and now she was bold enough to interfere with the affairs of other countries.

Born in 1542, Mary Stuart was destined to be a 'brand of discord.' A few months after her birth she lost her father and became the subject of a quarrel between her mother and Henry VIII. over the question of her marriage. Somerset's revival of the same question led to a war which ended in scaring her away to France where she subsequently became engaged to the Dauphin. Her marriage with

Effects of
the Treaty of
Edinburgh.

In
Scotland.

In
England.

Life and
character of
Mary Stuart.

Mary's
position in
Scotland.

the heir to the French throne was an event of great importance, as it brought about a political union between Scotland and France. From this time, she became a political firebrand and a perennial source of danger to Elizabeth; and this for three reasons: first, a Franco-Scottish union was a menace to English liberty; secondly, Mary's own claim to the crown of England made Elizabeth's position most insecure; thirdly, Mary's conspiracies kept alive and fed Catholic discontent which otherwise would have found final reconciliation in the Elizabethan settlement of the church. Mary's own position however was not at first very secure in Scotland itself. As a born Guise and a stern Catholic, she had to face a Calvinistic Scotland at the very beginning of her political career. Her hope of success was early blasted by the death of her husband Francis II., and consequent dissolution of the union of the Crowns of France and Scotland. She thus came to rule over a people with whom she had little sympathy. It was quite an irony of fate that Catholic Mary should be the queen of Protestant Scotland, and Protestant Elizabeth of Catholic England. The dangers and difficulties of the two queens were mostly alike. Never in history were rivals in identical circumstances. A single false step would have been ruinous to each one of them. We would find in their respective characters the key-notes of their subsequent success or failure.

Though a Sootch by birth Mary was virtually a foreigner. She passed her early years in

France where she was educated, and subsequently married. She was nineteen when she became a widow. But gifted beyond her years, she was able to acquire the highest proficiency in every department of life. In intellectual powers she was not inferior to Elizabeth, and in feminine accomplishments she was undoubtedly her superior. Her womanly disposition, however, was hidden within a frame of iron. She was utterly incapable of fatigue, took delight in manly exercises and loved danger for its own sake. Graceful yet bold, masculine yet passionate, voluptuous yet in policy as astute and crafty as Elizabeth was, Mary Stuart combined in her several extremes of human character. This combination gave her an attractive personality unsurpassed by any woman of her age. Every inch a queen, she was always alive to the honour and dignity of her position which she knew how to uphold. In many ways her policy was the policy of the soundest politicians of her age. She came back to Scotland with a consciousness that her main interests and ideals would always be those of the Guises. But she knew how to bow to circumstances and turn disadvantages to account. She was cool and calculating, and her plans were always very effectively matured. Her genius in conspiracy was unrivalled. At the same time her religious conviction was more solid than that of Elizabeth. She was a Catholic both politically and in belief. The Catholics of England saw in her an ideal sovereign like Mary Tudor. But she had great faults which

Mary's character.

Her
faults.

caused her ruin. Her diplomacy always predominated over her conviction, and her passion dominated over both.

Aims of
Mary Stuart.

The aims of Mary were clear and well-defined. The foremost of these was to restore Catholicism both in Scotland and in England, and the next, to make herself sovereign in England in place of Elizabeth. Both these aims were complementary, one necessarily leading to the other. But it was not an easy matter to carry out her ambitious projects. The first and the most serious obstacle in her way was the religion of her own subjects, who, as a security for their new faith, were cultivating friendship with England. To conciliate the Scots, therefore, she directed her attention, as it was by this means alone that she could hope to dissociate her subjects from England. Another but more hazardous course was open to her, *viz.*, to marry a powerful Catholic prince and with his help to suppress Protestantism by force. She would then be free to try her fortunes in respect of the English crown. Mary thus turned to the more prudent course of winning the confidence of her subjects by reconciliation. Keeping this in view she accepted Protestantism in Scotland on condition that she herself would remain a Catholic. She even tried to effect an amicable settlement with Elizabeth by claiming an acknowledgment of her right to the English succession after her.

Difficulties
which she
had to
face.

The course
she preferred
to follow.

Her
success.

Mary's policy eminently succeeded in Scotland. The religious changes were allowed to remain though they were not confirmed. At

the same time in order to secure the goodwill of her subjects, she assisted her councils in putting down the disorders in the border-counties and in humbling the Catholic Earl of Huntley who had resisted Mary's religious concessions. In this way, the queen became overwhelmingly popular. She was "strictly obeyed, perfectly served, and honoured by all." Her councillors sought her advice and she took care to honour and enrich them.

Her early religious policy in Scotland.

The triumph of her policy was accompanied by a revival of the old Scottish national feeling against England. The Scotch nobles were already dissatisfied with Elizabeth for her rejection of their proposal of her marriage with the Duke of Arran, the next in succession to Queen Mary. They now united with their queen to claim recognition of her right as Elizabeth's successor. Elizabeth would do nothing of the kind. She was not ready, as she said, "to hang a winding-sheet before her eyes or make a funeral feast whilst she was alive." But she promised to do nothing to prejudice Mary's title to the English crown. Mary on her part, retaliating for this indifference, would not ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, so often urged by Queen Elizabeth. Negotiations about these conflicting claims thus dragged on without end.

Revival of the old hostile feelings against England.

The accession of Mary Stuart in Scotland brought home a new danger to Elizabeth. The Scottish alliance was shaken. Her work seemed utterly undone. The national unity for which she was striving, now became almost

Accession
of Mary
a source
of new
danger to
Elizabeth.

Mary's
diplomatic
game.

impossible. Mary roused new hopes in the minds of the English Catholics and new fears in those of the Protestants. The real object of her pretended friendship was to obtain recognition of her claim to the English throne. Elizabeth aware of her intentions and knowing full well that she would not rest satisfied with a simple recognition, refused to admit her right. Mary at the same time could not risk an immediate rupture with Elizabeth. Consequently, a war of diplomacy began between the rival queens, Mary taking up the offensive, while Elizabeth keeping to her defensive. With coolness and tact surpassing even Elizabeth's, Mary was befriending Protestantism in Scotland, holding out hopes of her succession to the English throne as a Protestant queen to her own subjects, and at the same time was pledging her word to the Pope to restore Catholicism and negotiating a political marriage with Don Carlos, Philip's son. Deception, thus, was carried to its highest pitch. With the same art, she wanted to deceive the Scottish lords and her brother Murray, to befool Elizabeth and outwit Knox, and all with the same object *viz.* to ruin Elizabeth and Protestantism. Against her schemes Elizabeth was closely protecting herself. She was observing the trend of events and waiting patiently for an opportunity to strike. She stood unmoved as a rock against Mary's pretensions to succession. She would not be goaded to discuss any proposal of her own marriage. She would not even lend her

ear to any advice of her councillors calling for a policy of action. The waiting game which she thus played had its desired effect. As soon as Mary's real aims became known in Scotland a reaction set in against her, much to the relief of her opponent.

Mary and Elizabeth both were equally gifted and ambitious, both acquired the highest culture of the time, and both were destined to represent opposing religious tendencies of the age. In diplomacy both were equally unscrupulous and artful. In lying and deceit the two queens had no third to equal them. In point of womanly qualities, Mary was more passionate than Elizabeth who possessed self-control to a high degree. With manly virtues both the queens were equally equipped. Their hearts never shrank from any task however arduous, any danger however great. In personal features Mary was undoubtedly more fascinating, but Elizabeth had a serious and attractive grace. The former therefore was more charming, and the latter, more imperious. But in matters of good fortune Elizabeth decidedly stood on a higher plane of favour than Mary whose misfortune was proverbial.

Mary
Stuart and
Elizabeth—
a comparison
and a
contrast.

The aim of Elizabeth's life was to create a united people. Her church policy was directed towards effecting a compromise between the rival creeds. Her foreign policy was essentially defensive. Her mendacity, duplicity, and feminine caprice had always a political touch in them, and were

mainly responsible for her success. But what was noteworthy in Elizabeth was that her personal interests were always akin to and identical with the interests of her people, and the heart of the nation was always on her side. No tyrant was better loved by her people than Elizabeth, and no tyrant better served and obeyed. Elizabeth's ministers were men uncommon in their abilities and in their devotion to their queen.

Mary, on the other hand, was a foreigner in the land of her birth. She was a Catholic and her ideals and interests were those of the Counter-Reformation. The main object of her ambition was the crown of England, and she pursued her aim with an all-absorbing passion; but Mary was extremely feminine in her passion which ultimately did much to ruin her cause. In actual life her errors always turned out to the advantage of Elizabeth. She was unfortunate in matters more than one. The vicissitudes of her life were unique and of a type which a mere woman could not bear. She was badly served by her ministers who gave her half-hearted support. She was betrayed by all she trusted—her brother, husband and son. A woman thus wronged at home was driven headlong from her country by her people to take refuge in the arms of her enemy. Her humiliation was never so great as when she came to England. Her rival became her judge and from her she had to receive her death-sentence. Though her death cleared the way for the

Scottish succession to the English throne, yet the cause which she represented received its death-blow both in England and Scotland.

The Treaty of Edinburgh had transferred the government from the hands of the Regent to a Council of Lords with the Earl of Murray at its head. When Mary came back to Scotland, the administrative arrangements previously made were left untouched. This, we have seen, was one of the causes of the sudden popularity of Mary. Her reign, therefore, may be called the rule of Murray. Murray's right hand man was Maitland, who was nicknamed the 'Scottish Cecil.' Murray and Maitland though they advocated friendship with England, joined with Mary to claim the English succession for her. The Catholic party in Scotland opposed to Murray was, however, in a minority. Mary's government was thus decidedly Protestant in character and policy.

Mary's peaceful accession in Scotland and the popularity which she attained gave her leisure to think of a suitable marriage. There was no lack of suitors for her hand. In this matter, she became the object of interest of almost every sovereign of Europe, and many of them came forward with a nominee of their own. The Guises, her uncles, recommended the Archduke of Austria. Philip offered the hand of his son Don Carlos. Catharine De Medicis proposed a marriage with her son Charles IX., while Elizabeth recommended her own favourite the Earl of Leicester. Besides these suitors, there was also a nominee of the

Government of
Mary
Stuart.

Her
marriage
question.

English Catholics, *viz.*, Henry Robert Darnley, the rightful successor to Elizabeth after Mary. Each of these offers had peculiar political reasons behind it. The Guises wanted to see her married to a Catholic prince of high status. The marriage with Don Carlos would have led to a very effective union between Scotland and Spain against France and England, and the prospect of this marriage made Philip actually dream of a greater Spain consisting of England, Scotland, Spain, and the Netherlands. This was a possibility which Catherine de Medicis had to prevent at all costs, and she at once came up with an offer of marriage with her son Charles. Elizabeth with a view to prevent a foreign marriage would have her married to an English subject, preferably the Earl of Leicester. She was even confident of her own success in this matter in as much as she thought that Mary would try to gratify her by accepting her nominee in order to obtain the recognition she claimed.

Her own
considera-
tions for
marriage.

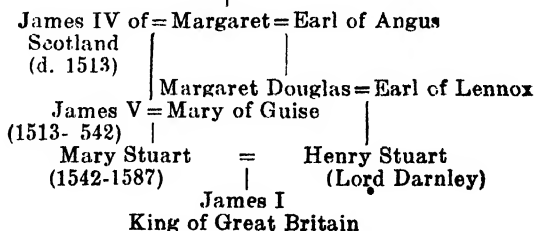
Political considerations of course stood uppermost in her mind. She rejected the Archduke, because he was a mere title-holder. She was rather eager for the match with Don Carlos, hoping thereby to obtain the Spanish support for her schemes against England. But to her great disappointment, the proposal was frustrated by the intrigues of Catharine De Medicis. Charles IX, was, of course, brushed aside as an undesirable Valois. She had, therefore, to make her choice out of the remaining two suitors, Darnley and Lord

Leicester. Leicester was unacceptable as he was a Protestant and an English subject. Hence she directed her attentions to the proposal of the Darnley marriage. Henry Stuart Lord Darnley was not only a tall and handsome youth but was the Catholic nominee to the English throne.* A marriage with such a man would be a political gain, so far as Mary's English designs were concerned. Meanwhile, love went a great way to bring the couple together which Elizabeth so unsuccessfully tried to prevent. Both love and statecraft hastened the union between Mary and Darnley, the marriage being celebrated in 1565.

But the Darnley marriage was disliked in Scotland. It, at once, had the effect of producing a breach in the camp of the Scottish nobility. The Scotch lords were already divided and the division became more marked when, as the husband of Scotland's queen Darnley was able to secure a large body of adherents, both Catholics and Protestants, from among the landed aristocracy. This new accession of strength had a marvellous effect on Mary. She abandoned her original cautious

Effect of her marriage with Darnley.

* Henry VII.



and conciliatory policy and determined to suppress her council with a view to making herself absolute in Scotland. Her designs for changing the religion was also put into operation. Murray protested, and even made some attempt at resistance. But he was declared a rebel and had to flee to England for life. In all these Mary was warmly supported by the foreign princes. France threatened Elizabeth with war if she tried to intervene in the affairs of Scotland. Philip sent her money and words of encouragement. Money came from Rome as also a Papal Legate. From all sides things seemed very favourable to Mary who would have undoubtedly succeeded but for the new complications that arose unexpectedly at home.

Character
of Darnley.

The marriage which promised to be the beginning of Mary's triumphs was soon to cause bitter regrets on both sides. Of all persons Darnley was the most unfit to be a real partner in life of the ambitious Queen. If he was handsome in person, he was morally an imbecile; he was obstinate, quarrelsome, licentious, ill-bred, jealous, and weak. Soon after the marriage he proved to be a most brutal husband, and as such, an object of Mary's hatred. The natural consequence was that an estrangement immediately followed between the husband and the wife. The breach widened with Mary's refusal to grant her husband the "matrimonial crown" which he had coveted. Mary was anxious to see that her worthless husband who had also disgusted

Quarrel
between
Darnley
and Mary.

the nobles by his insolence, had no power for himself. All these had made her life miserable ; but her misery was never greater than when her husband began intriguing to murder her secretary David Rizzio.

David Rizzio, a native of Italy, was at first a musician to Mary ; but he soon won the confidence of the queen who gave him the private secretaryship. Rizzio became very useful to Mary as her confidential clerk in the matter of correspondence with foreign princes and also as a supporter of her Catholic policy. The favour which she had thus shown to her secretary aroused the jealousy of the lords as well as of her husband. Darnley who was already discontented started a plot, in which the lords joined, for his murder. Mary's honour was attacked and she was faced with the loss of that popularity which her statesmanship had won for her. But the dismissal of Rizzio could not be even thought of by Mary as there was none except her secretary whom she could trust with her political schemes. But Mary's dilemma, soon came to a speedy end in 1566 with the murder of Rizzio in her very presence. This was the most agonising event in her life. She swore revenge on the perpetrators, but only to entangle herself in far greater difficulties than she had ever imagined.

Plot
against
Rizzio 1566.

His
murder.

The first act of Mary after the death of Rizzio was to break up the hostile coalition formed against her by her husband. By pre- tending great affection she immediately soothed

Immediate
results of
the murder
of Rizzio.

Darnley into subjection and wormed out from him the secrets of the conspiracy. Its principal leaders were outlawed. Murray was again restored to power. A composite ministry consisting of Protestant and Catholic lords was set up in the place of her old council. Restoration of the peaceful state of things was all but accomplished. Its final accomplishment would have been easier had Mary been a little wiser or had Darnley amended his ways. But all this was not to be. Darnley was as intolerable as ever. He was now openly intriguing against his wife in England as well as on the continent. Mary's exasperations from this source again became very acute. Conscious of her previous wrongs, she was quite at a loss how to deal with her husband. Her councillors, the enemies of Darnley, openly advocated a divorce. She would have welcomed it, if it could have been effected without bastardizing her own son. The question of divorce proving unacceptable, they engineered another conspiracy of a still more dangerous character against Darnley. They also obtained the co-operation of the perpetrators of the Rizzio outrage for whom they had secured the pardon of Mary. How far Mary herself was a party to this plot was not known. Apparently she was again reconciled to her husband who had just come out of a serious illness. At the same time, Mary had been much thrown with Bothwell, one of the leading conspirators, who had won her admiration for his daring and adventurous character. "He" was an able and courageous

Plot
against
Darnley.

Mary's
complicity
in the plot.

soldier, a man of barbaric loyalty, a persistent enemy of England, and now the queen's staunchest adherent." Already very intimate with this man, Mary in the beginning of 1567 persuaded her husband to accompany her to the capital. He was lodged in a house in Kirk o'Field. One morning when the queen was absent at a marriage-feast, the house was blown up by gun-powder and Darnley's dead body was found some distance away. Murder of Darnley.

The tragedy at Kirk o'Field stirred Scotland to its utmost depths. The very instinct of the people who knew the man, pointed out Bothwell to be the murderer. The conduct of Mary at this crisis confirmed the almost universal suspicion that she was a party to the plot. After the murder was effected, she was acting as if her main endeavour was to evade enquiry and shield the culprit. Bothwell, in spite of the accusation levelled at him, was treated as her chief confidant and was receiving fresh grants of place and power. He was even entrusted with the investigation of the murder when the people were crying out for immediate vengeance against him. Lord Lennox, Darnley's father, who demanded the arrest and trial of Bothwell was given a mock show of prosecution which was soon allowed to be dropped. The queen's case was further spoilt by the rumour that she was proposing to marry the culprit Bothwell, which was, unfortunately, soon after, confirmed by the action of Bothwell himself who obtained a bond signed by his partisan Effect of the murder.

lords declaring his innocence and recommending him to marry the queen. Situation thus created went on all sides against Mary. The Catholic Europe, her natural ally, stood aghast at her wild career. Everybody saw that she was driving headlong on the path of irretrievable ruin. The worst side of her character now revealed itself. Her statesmanlike and prudent nature was suddenly buried under vindictiveness and passion and her fall was precipitate.

Mary
marries
Bothwell
1587.

Mary at first tried to create an impression that the conspiracy against Darnley was but a small offshoot of a greater conspiracy against herself. But her pretences would no longer deceive any body. Her conduct, we have seen, had confirmed the public suspicion of her complicity. Now she could little conceal her wild infatuation for Bothwell in whose hands she became a mere instrument. Soon the rumour of marriage became a known fact. Bothwell, obtaining a divorce from his wife, immediately carried off the queen who had apparently submitted to this violence, and married her according to Protestant rites. Mary hoped that a Protestant husband and her final sanction of the reformed church in Scotland, would have the effect of pacifying her subjects. But a guilt of this sort could scarcely be atoned for by concessions. The horror of a marriage with a man guilty of a heinous murder drove the whole nation to revolt. On the other hand, her marriage with a Protestant and a profligate alienated her Catholic allies who saw in her

action a death-blow to Counter-Reformation. Mary was thus left politically stranded without a supporter either at home or abroad. The Confederates, as the Scotch rebels called themselves, at once drove Bothwell, first, from the capital and then, from the country altogether. Mary who had followed Bothwell in his flight was captured at Carberry Hill and led back a prisoner to Edinburgh (1567), whence, on the ground of her refusal to abandon Bothwell, she was removed to Lochleven Castle amid the jeers and curses of her subjects.

Effect
of the
marriage
with
Bothwell.

The Confederates had given Mary the option of a divorce from Bothwell or imprisonment at Lochleven for life. She preferred the last alternative, thinking that the tide of events might still turn in her favour. On July 16, 1568 she was forced to sign a deed of abdication in favour of her son James and to nominate Murray, then absent in France, as Regent. On July 29, the young James was crowned king of Scotland, thus completing the revolt against Mary. In this revolt the Scotch people were taking an unusually bold step. They were acting in direct defiance of the Catholic sovereigns and also of Elizabeth. The latter's attitude towards the fall of her rival was certainly inexplicable. To the outside world Mary's fall was considered an advantage to Elizabeth. The English queen thought otherwise. She proclaimed loudly her sympathy for her sister-queen. "Two special causes", wrote Cecil, "move her, one that she be not thought to the world partial against the queen ;

Abdication
of Mary
Stuart.

Attitude of
Elizabeth
towards
Mary on her
downfall.

the other that by this example none of her own (subjects) be encouraged." As usual Elizabeth denied the right of subjects to call their sovereigns to account. Acting on this principle, she even went the length of threatening the Scots with her vengeance. She refused to recognise James VI.'s government and was only deterred from interfering in Scotch affairs by the corresponding threat she received that they would execute their queen if Elizabeth would interfere in their affairs. Thus Elizabeth stood powerless against the Scots in this matter, and her policy was soon to involve her in a new crisis.

Mary's
defeat
and her
flight to
England.

On May 2, 1569 Mary after ten month's imprisonment escaped and met in battle her rebel lords at Langside. She was defeated but was able to cross over the borders to England with a loud appeal to Elizabeth for help.

Mary's
downfall.

Mary's fall destroyed all hopes of the Catholic princes to see the old religion restored in Scotland and in England. England specially was freed from the danger of facing a great Catholic combination for putting Mary on the English throne. Both from religious and political standpoints, Mary's failure was a decided blessing to England which was, thus, saved from a disastrous civil war, a drastic religious reaction, and a change of government or a possible foreign domination.

CHAPTER IV.

The Religious Wars in France : First Phase.

Protestantism in France was growing fast enough. It became most popular among the merchants and the middle class. The noblesse also were gradually becoming Huguenots. The new party was particularly strengthened by the acquisition of such men as Henry of Navarre, Duke of Conde, Admiral Coligni and his brother the Cardinal of Chatélon. So irresistible did this Protestant movement prove itself in France that Catherine de Medicis who was now at the head of affairs could find no other way of preserving France in Catholicism than by making large concessions to the Huguenots. But her policy of concessions was not considered prudent after all. It would have made France drift more towards Protestantism. A similar apprehension terrified the Pope. He hastened to summon a council at Trent (1562), and the Counter-Reformation was set on foot. This was an event of the utmost importance in the religious history of Europe. The Catholic world was stirred up to an unprecedented activity. It was resolved to save Catholicism by the strength of the sword. In France the Guises vowed the extirpation of the Huguenots. The Huguenots at the same time, confident of their growing power, gave themselves up to

Rise
of the
Huguenots

Beginning
of the
religious
war in
France.

Massacre
of the
Huguenots
at Vassy.

unnecessary violence. As yet the mass of the nation was little touched by the new gospel and consequently was ranged on the side of the Guises. The first blow was struck by them in the massacre of the Protestants at Vassy (1562) and in forcibly entering Paris and seizing the Regent and the king. Condé and Coligni at once took up arms. France became divided into two camps, its western and southern portions declaring for the Huguenots while Paris and Northern France standing by the Catholics. The Guises proving too strong for the Huguenots, the latter appealed to Elizabeth for help.

Elizabeth
and the
Huguenots.

Elizabeth could not withhold such help. The triumph of the Guises would mean the triumph of Mary Queen of Scots, which she must prevent at all costs. She readily concluded a treaty with the Huguenots at Hampton Court, promising to supply them with men and money. Besides self-protection, she had another object in her mind *viz.*, the recovery of Calais. With this object in view, she exacted the surrender of Havre as a security for the restoration of Calais. This was the most impolitic step ever taken by Elizabeth throughout her political career. The surrender of Havre had at once the effect of rousing the national spirit of France against England. The Huguenots, in spite of the help they received from Elizabeth and the German princes, were crushed by the Duke of Guise on the field of Dreaux. The Duke, however, at the moment of his triumph, was murdered and his forces were

paralysed. The Huguenots under Coligni took possession of Normandy. Catherine de Medicis again intervened between the two parties and issued the Edict of Amboise (1563) which restored the truce of religion in France. Elizabeth sustained a merited humiliation by the capitulation of Havre, and was forced to make peace without recovering Calais (1564).

Capitulation of Havre and the end of the war.

CHAPTER V.

Religious Wars and the Revolt of the Netherlands.

Early
history
of the
Netherlands.

The name Netherlands is generally given to a collection of small principalities in the northern districts of Europe, now forming the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. Its early history is generally associated with the monarchy of France which exercised a kind of feudal authority over the constituent states, the chief amongst them being Brabant, Flanders (or Belgium), Holland, and Zealand. During the 14th and 15th centuries, these different states slowly passed into the hands of the Dukes of Burgundy from whom they ultimately descended to Emperor Charles V. and his son Philip II.

Its growth
and
prosperity.

The Netherlands, though a small country with great natural disadvantages, had made rapid progress in civilisation during the Middle Ages and was noted as one of the wealthiest and most populous of European states. During the 15th century it was the commercial and industrial leader of Europe. Its towns, numbering over two hundred, became great manufacturing centres and rivalled in magnificence, even surpassed in some instances, the finest of the European cities. Politically, also, these towns did not lag much behind the age, but obtained from their kings chartered privileges which

Its
constitution.

went to make them so many city-republics. They regulated all their local business, elected their magistrates and sent their representatives to the States-General which was the general assembly of the different constituent provinces. The king had little voice in the internal administration of the country, the government being mainly based on a 'perpetual balance between the power of the king and the rights of the different cities and provinces.' A characteristic right that they always enjoyed was the right to tax themselves.

Charles V. generally respected the constitutional privileges of the cities and the provinces and never interfered with them so long as they provided him with money he required for his wars. But he would not tolerate any insubordination which he unsparingly punished whenever there was occasion for it (*cf.* his treatment of the town of Ghent). Charles V. was also opposed to the religious opinion of his Netherlandish subjects. Netherlands, like France was fast accepting Calvinism as its religious creed. Just before Charles's historic retirement, he had introduced the Inquisition to suppress heresy in that country, and religious persecution was already in force when Philip II. succeeded his father.

Philip was a representative Spaniard, and did not possess the European character of his father. The great aggregation of power in the hands of Charles V. was broken up at his abdication, one of its consequences being the appearance of the Spanish monarchy as the

its
history
under
Charles V.

Accession of
Philip II.

Character of
Philip II.

greatest power in the world. Though his dominions were extensive, his political ideals and aspirations were confined within the limits of Spain. He looked upon his provinces outside Spain, as subject-states or dependencies. Moreover, as a politician, he was a thoroughgoing absolutist bent upon bringing the whole of his dominions under his direct control. A man of unbounded ambition, and possessing enormous powers, he considered nothing to be impracticable.

Behind his political ideals was his religious conviction. He was a devout Catholic and found in the cause and success of his religion, the direct and easy attainment of his political ends. Like his father Charles V., he found in religious unity the basis of his absolute power and this unity, he was resolved to establish at all costs. Hence he thoroughly identified himself with the movement of the Counter-Reformation of which he became the recognised leader. He took up this leadership not only as a matter of necessity but of choice also. If he was to pull the string which was to move the whole of Europe it was necessary that it must, first of all, be brought under a common belief. Consequently he took up Catholic restoration as his life's task without which his political ambition, as he saw himself, would remain for ever unfulfilled.

As to personal character, he was habitually reserved but his manners were extremely cold and haughty. Philip II., with his rude appear-

ance and rough manners, was never said to have pleased any body.

As an administrator, Philip had no equal. He was as unwearied in business as Emperor Julian. An eminently busy man, he flew from work to work and never got tired. He had a wonderful mastery of details and no affairs of state ever escaped his close observation. He loved to do everything himself, trusted no body, and regarded his ministers and other public servants as mere instruments for carrying out his wishes. He always judged a man by his success. None ever enjoyed his continued favour and he never hesitated to get rid of men as he thought it fit.

Abilities of
Philip II.

As a natural successor to the power, position, and influence of Charles V., Philip II. followed in the main the policy of his father. That policy, we have seen, was directed towards securing one Church—Holy and indivisible—as the fundamental basis of the unity of his dominions. The political conceptions of these days were much unlike our own. Religion was the hand-maid of politics and it was admitted on all hands that disunion in the church meant disunion in the state. On account of this peculiar notion of interdependence between the Church and the State, there was practically no scope for a policy of toleration or compromise in religious matters. Charles V. seeking political unity, vacillated for some time between the two extremes of toleration and repression, without success. The Council of Trent, which was to find unity in religious reconciliation,

Foreign
Policy of
Philip II.

decided on the contrary for Counter-Reformation and religious persecution. As a favoured child of this Counter-Reformation, Philip II.'s position was in some respects quite different from that of his father. He had neither succeeded to the vast possessions and interests of his father, nor had he inherited the breadth of his views. But he was always conscious of his father's failures and remembered well his last words of advice *viz.* to cherish the Holy Inquisition as the surest means of attaining religious unity. Philip II. thus came to the throne with a determination to carry the Counter-Reformation through and by this means to acquire complete ascendancy directly over his own dominions and indirectly over the rest of Europe. But the methods he followed showed the characteristic narrowness of his mind. He thoroughly indentified himself with Spain and Spanish politics. His political ideal was to "Hispanisise" Europe rather than to 'Europeanise' himself. His ambition in this respect was unbounded. He had inherited the Hapsburg hatred of France. He had a design to make himself predominant in England and Scotland and his life's sole aim was to be the absolute master everywhere.

This general policy of Philip was shaped by the peculiar political situation of Europe. The whole continent was torn by an acute religious conflict. Scotland and France were already fighting out their respective religious differences. England and the Netherlands were preparing for the great fight. Politics inter-

mixed with religion embroiled Europe in a struggle, in which Philip II. was to be the recognised leader of the Catholics and Elizabeth that of the Protestants. Of these, the one became leader by choice and the other by sheer necessity. There was no open breach between the two till late in their reigns, but both were destined to be famous actors in the great religio-political drama of the 16th century.

Philip's religious policy at first had its desired effects in France. The bitter hostility between the Catholics and the Huguenots drew the Guises towards him and he saw in this new relationship a fine opportunity to become supreme in France. At the same time, it became possible for him, on account of his marriage with the sister of the French king, to intervene in the affairs of that country with an apparently friendly spirit, whenever there was occasion for it. But Philip's designs were not unknown in France. When the danger of Spanish influence became too threatening her national spirit was roused sufficiently to produce a natural set-back.

This national spirit was well-represented in Catharine de Medicis, the 'Machiavellian Eve' of the 16th century. If Philip made any bold designs against France, Catharine knew her arts to defeat his ends by her unfathomable intrigues. When Philip used dissimulation, she boldly counteracted it. In political machinations she was a past mistress. We know already that it was Catharine who first brought together the Guises and Philip. It

was Catharine again who defeated the prospects of the Spanish marriage of Mary Queen of Scots. It was Catharine next who united with Philip to engineer the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572), and made him a scapegoat of her designs. But the most effective instrument by which Catharine preferred to keep Philip under control was the Netherlands and the situation which he himself had created there. She would assist the rebels openly or under hand whenever it would suit her purpose. The spectre of the loss of the Netherlands through the instrumentality of Catharine was kept constantly looming before Philip's eyes and with an apprehension like this which he had constantly to take note of (guard against) he proved utterly powerless against France. Philip's policy, thus, ultimately failed.

His Scottish
policy.

As a Catholic leader of Europe, Philip saw with bitter feelings the religious change in Scotland. His only hope of a Catholic revival there lay in Mary Queen of Scots whom he regarded as the natural leader of the Counter-Reformation both in Scotland and in England. Hence he secretly encouraged the Scottish queen in her English designs, and openly assisted her with money for the suppression of Protestantism in Scotland (*See ante*). But the fall of Mary put an end to his fond expectations and immediately with their disappearance he found himself in open conflict with Elizabeth.

Philip's connection with England began as early as 1554 when he married Queen Mary

Tudor. As husband of the English queen, he ^{His English policy.} availed himself of every opportunity to bring that country under Spanish influence. Philip's endeavours in this respect, strangely enough, had the support of the English statesmen of the time. There was at least one good reason behind this. The Tudor England was never as powerful as it generally appeared. Henry VIII. was rather able to keep up a showy appearance of his powers by adhering alternately to Charles V. and Francis I. During the misrules of Edward VI. and Mary, the strength of England still further declined till it reached the lowest point in its history when Elizabeth came to the throne. The better sense of the nation, therefore, always saw in Spain a natural support and ally as against France and other enemies.

But the Spanish alliance on which English- ^{Its effect.} men so much relied was the immediate cause of a political disaster and national humiliation brought about by the loss of Calais. This loss had presumably given greater shock to their sovereign than it ever did to the nation. It broke the heart of Mary and caused Elizabeth life-long anxiety for its recovery. But the English people feeling less for their humiliation remained firm in their belief in the necessity of Spanish support, particularly when the Franco-Scottish designs against Elizabeth became only too apparent. No one in England could be brought to believe that Elizabeth could maintain herself on her throne without the assistance of Spain. Philip, on the other

hand, knowing the English attitude and Elizabeth's perilous position, wanted to draw England more and more towards the machinations of Spain. Hence it was that he was so profuse in his offers of friendship from the very moment of her accession.

Elizabeth, though personally alive to the necessity of Spanish support, was, unlike the English nation, not to be a blind follower of Spain. She refused to be an instrument in the hands of Philip. While desiring friendship with him, so far it was necessary for her own ends, she would always follow the rules of political expediency. Her uncommon political sense readily gave her a firm grasp of the European situation. She knew, as we have seen, that she could not risk Philip's displeasure. She knew also equally well that Philip's own position on the continent (particularly in respect of the Netherlands) would make him less of a danger to England. That her political calculations were extremely sound is amply testified by the events that followed.

Philip, however, had made a wrong estimate of Elizabeth. His first error was to set a price on his support first, by suggesting his own marriage with the queen and secondly, by requiring a pledge that Elizabeth would continue Mary's religious system. The marriage was deemed impossible by the queen for political as well as personal reasons. That she could not guarantee anything about her religious policy was evident from the very first. Elizabeth would only assure Philip that a

direct religious change in England would never be attempted. Under such circumstances amicable relationship between the two sovereigns was practically unattainable. At the same time an open estrangement or breach on account of the peculiar position of each was to be long deferred. Philip, inspite of these differences, long remained firm in his support to Elizabeth. He secured for her the Catholic allegiance of England. He staunchly supported her cause in the negotiations at Cateau-Cambresis. He saved her from the Papal attacks by his timely interventions. He even allowed her to borrow money and to buy arms and ammunition in the Netherlands. Elizabeth, at the same time and in the same spirit, never definitely expressed herself on questions of religion so as to offend Philip. She rather tried to represent that her chief aim was to retain Catholicism in England. Her first act was to announce her accession to the Pope. In her religious settlement, she never gave it the weight of a serious change. Neither would she call herself a Protestant nor recognise herself as the universal leader of the Protestants. She would only help the Protestants for reasons other than religious and always liked to do so "underhand". She was always ready "to explain" things, if called for. Philip's diplomacy, thus, found a ready set off in Elizabeth's whose main policy was to avoid war so long as it could be conveniently avoided.

But diplomacy can not defer war in-

definitely. The political differences between Elizabeth and Philip were becoming acute as years passed on, till the rivals found themselves face to face. Now the religious question ceased to be the sole issue. Commercial and maritime jealousy was becoming very keen between the two monarchs. The Revolt of the Netherlands and Elizabeth's underhand aids so exasperated Philip that he was actually determined to conquer England as preliminary to his conquest of the Low Countries. At this time situation in Europe was considerably altered by the conquest of Portugal by Philip. This immediately rekindled French jealousy of the Spanish Power and France entered into a new defensive alliance with England. She was however internally declining owing to civil wars and Philip was ultimately able to establish himself there through the victory of the Guises (*Cf. 'Wars of the Three Henries' See post*). Neither was England very favourably circumstanced. The Netherlands was being reconquered by the Duke of Parma and required more help from Elizabeth than she could safely give. Scotland was also not a very earnest friend. Philip's position now being apparently stronger than Elizabeth's, he was determined to avail himself of the new opportunities to strike her hard. But his fondest dreams were shattered with the destruction of the Armada and with its destruction, the fall of Philip and the fall of Spain was accomplished.

Philip* II. was proclaimed king of the

Netherlands in 1555 and after receiving due oaths of allegiance from the seventeen constituent provinces he promised on his part to maintain in each province all its ancient rights, privileges and customs without infringement. His absolutist policy however was soon to produce discontent in the Netherlands. The Netherlanders really hated Philip as a foreigner. Their personal dislike of the king, more than his measures, was one of the causes of the revolt. The revolt had also a series of other important causes which may be enumerated under the heads of financial embarrassment, edicts against heresy, the Inquisition, the new bishoprics, and hatred of Spanish domination.

Revolt
of the
Netherlands.

Causes
of the
discontent :

1. Philip's financial embarrassments made him ask for money from the Netherlanders and propose a tax on property to raise the amount he required. His proposal was met with opposition which was so vehement that Philip had to content himself with a smaller amount than he wanted. A bitter feeling was thus early engendered between the king and the people of the Netherlands.

Financial
embarrass-
ment.

2. True to his religious principles, Philip early set himself to stamp out heresy in the Netherlands. He strictly enforced the last edict of Charles, issued in 1550, in consequence of which thousands miserably perished at the hands of the executioners, and many more were driven into banishment.

Edicts
against
heresy.

3. The desperation caused by the enforcement of the decree was further intensified by

Inquisi-
tion.

the Inquisition. Thousands were burnt or imprisoned in the name of justice and religion.

Fifteen
new
bishoprics.

4. When these persecutions were going on, to strengthen further the hands of Catholicism, fifteen new bishoprics were created with three archbishoprics in addition to the three original ones, all to be filled up by the king. The new bishoprics increased the distrust of the people who looked on them as the inception of the Spanish Terror, and a preliminary to the final annihilation of their religion and liberty.

Hatred of
foreigners.

5. The Spanish agency by which religious persecutions were being carried out, increased the national hatred towards Philip and Spain. The king did not arouse any popular sentiment in his favour, neither knowing the language of his subjects nor sharing their feelings and aspirations. Moreover, he was haughty and ill-mannered in the extreme. The rule of Philip, in fact created almost universal opposition as the rule of a foreign despot, and it was this hatred of Philip that developed their sullen opposition into an active rebellion.

Duchess of
Parma,
and the
beginning
of the
Revolt.

The Duchess of Parma, a born Netherlander and a half-sister of Philip, was appointed Regent in the Netherlands in 1559. She was a princess of marked ability and possessed considerable prudence. But in the matter of government of the Netherlands, though she was given extensive powers, she had virtually to follow the secret instructions of Philip which were communicated to her principally through his agent, the notorious Cardinal Granvelle. Granvelle who had seats in the council of state

and other administrative bodies soon became the most powerful man in the Netherlands directing even the Regent whenever he thought it necessary. This extraordinary power and influence of the Spaniard soon created an opposition against him headed by the Count of Egmont and William of Orange, the two leading men of the country and representatives of the ancient nobility. Their chief grievances were first, the advancement of the Spaniards in the public service, and secondly, the presence of the Spanish troops in the country. The demand for the withdrawal of the latter became so vehement that Philip had to send them away to allay public suspicion (1560). But the king's ecclesiastical measures, particularly the creation of the Bishoprics and the establishment of the Inquisition, were soon to create another ferment during which the removal of Granvelle was openly demanded. Again Philip had to give way. The success of the leaders in these matters soon made them ask for more viz. the removal of all the Spaniards from the Netherlands and the establishment of a purely national government of their own under the personal headship of Philip whom they had, at first, little desire to resist. Had Philip been more prudent, he could have easily secured a loyal Netherlands by timely concessions. He himself had taken up a conciliatory attitude at first but he was determined not to yield in religious matters. Persecution was thus started on an unprecedented scale. This led to the formation

Parma and
Granvelle.

The 'Compromise'.

The 'Beggars'.

of a political league of the nobles known as the 'Compromise,' which now petitioned the Regent for the redress of their grievances. But the petition was unceremoniously rejected as one coming from the 'Beggars'. This rejection had disastrous results. It at once aroused popular fury to such an extent that iconoclasm, accompanied by local riots, was freely resorted to everywhere. This alarmed the Regent so much that she at once abolished the Inquisition allowing liberty of preaching in certain specified places.

Failure of the 'Compromise'.

But these iconoclastic riots had their natural reaction. The moderate section of the Netherlanders and the Catholics who had signed the 'Compromise' now withdrew from the league, thus hopelessly crippling the party of opposition. Taking advantage of this division the Regent was able to bring the insurgents under subjection and to extort an unqualified oath of allegiance from all the nobles (the Prince of Orange alone excepted). The Compromise thus ended in a failure.

William Prince of Orange; his early career.

Born in 1533, William of Orange belonged to the family of Nassau which long held a very high position in the Netherlands. He had early distinguished himself in war, and became a general under Charles V. But his abilities as a statesman and diplomatist far outshone his qualities as a soldier. He was for some time associated with the Spanish court and became a companion of Philip. It was during this time that he came to know of the secret understanding between France and Spain

His early associations with Philip.

about the extirpation of heresy. He received the news in perfect silence whence his nickname—William the Silent. Henceforth he was determined to drive away "this vermin of Spaniards" out of his country. It was apparent that in spite of their early friendship there was not much sympathy between Philip and William, though the latter owed great obligation to his king who had made him a Councillor of State and Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht. But his uprightness and patriotism threw this obligation to the wind. He joined the party of constitutional resistance started during the administration of Parma. The master and his man thus grew to be bitter enemies. He had also displeased Philip by accepting the Protestant faith and by making a Protestant marriage. He was declared an outlaw by Alva and had to flee to Germany. But when the people openly rose in revolt against Alva's oppression, he came forward to accept the national leadership. Indeed there was no man in the whole of the Netherlands more fitted for this position than William of Orange. He had a genuine love of his country and a "firm religious conviction that he was called of Heaven to the work of rescuing his country from Spanish tyranny." His self-sacrifice was almost unexampled in history. He braved every misfortune and privation but always rose superior to his own personal afflictions. With such a man as their leader the cause of the people was, as it were, half-accomplished. After twenty years' strenuous struggle he

Prince of
Orange
Councillor
of State
and
Stadtholder.

He
heads the
nationalist
party
against
Philip,

His
character
and
achievements.

founded the Dutch Republic which was not only strong enough to maintain its freedom but supplied a firm ground-work for building up by his equally able successors the edifice of a world-wide commercial and colonial empire.

Religious
views of
William.

William's attitude towards religion resembled to a great degree that of Elizabeth. He was an advocate of toleration which was as much due to dictates of policy as to his religious opinion. Though Catholic at first he became Protestant simply because Catholicism was incompatible with his idea of political liberty. If he was to stand against the Spanish Inquisition, he must stand against it as an avowed Protestant. Protestantism also was making rapid progress in the Netherlands at this time. The towns and seaports became converts to the new faith. Philip's blows were directed against these towns and Alva administered them with deadly effect. William, therefore, could not have best represented the national resistance except as a great Protestant leader.

The Duke
of Alva and
the Revolt.

From Philip's standpoint the administration of the Duchess of Parma was a failure, and desiring to remove her from the Netherlands, he appointed the Duke of Alva as the commander of his troops independent of the Regent, who, finding herself thus superseded, resigned. Alva was one of the greatest generals of his age, and the object of his appointment was only too apparent. As a politician he was haughty and deceitful and as a soldier he was utterly unscrupulous and

merciless. He possessed a veteran Spanish army, "one of the most perfect engines of war ever seen in any age." The appearance of Alva at the head of his army threw the whole country into the greatest consternation. People began to flee to England and other places for safety. William of Orange, their leader, had to flee to Germany whence he meant to carry on his war with Alva. Meanwhile the Spanish general was the undisputed master of the situation. He occupied the principal towns with his troops, committed Egmont and other leaders to prison, and established the 'Council of Blood' for the trial of the insurgents of the last riot. The work of the council struck terror in the land, which, after innumerable slaughters, was cowed into submission. His next steps were to re-introduce the 'Inquisition' and to impose an iniquitous tax called the 'Tenth Penny' on all sales of commodities. In consequence of these measures, over eighteen thousand men and women died at the stake and the flourishing trade of the Netherlands was ruined. The misery became so great that the people were goaded into open revolt with the Prince of Orange as their champion and leader. Never in history is to be found a hero who took up his mission more in earnest than William. Alva found in him an unconquerable spirit against whom his veteran army was of no avail. By making the Netherlands "victims of one of the most dramatic tragedies recorded in all history, Philip and Alva thus

Alva's
iron rule.

The
'Council of
Blood'—
its work.

The
'Inquisition'
and the
'Tenth
Penny'.

committed an act which was not only an unnecessary crime but an irretrievable blunder."

The
progress
of the
Revolt.

The revolt of the Netherlands was started by a small band of Dutch pirates driven by Alva's oppression to take shelter in their ships. They freely cruised in the Channel seeking for Spanish treasure-ships and merchant-men as their prey. The booty thus obtained they used to sell in England where they also found temporary shelter. On the protest of Alva, Elizabeth drove them from the English ports and they had to put to sea. Devoid of shelter and stricken with hunger they made a bold design of attacking and capturing Brill which they succeeded in taking possession of in the name of William of Orange. This success of the 'water-beggars', as they were called, gave courage to the Netherlanders who were then on the point of revolt. Flushing threw off the Spanish yoke. Its example was followed by the principal cities of Holland and Zealand, and by the middle of 1572 practically the whole of the country stood in open defiance of Spain.

Seizure of
Brill by
the 'Sea-
Beggars'.

Revolt
crushed in
Belgium.

The story of the revolt may here be briefly told. While the rebellion was started in the North, William of Orange was busy negotiating in France for help and actually sent a detachment to surprise the city of Mons from the south. Alva thus found himself assailed on both sides, North and South. Mons, however, could not be adequately defended and had to be surrendered; and with its fall the rebellion in the Southern provinces was crushed by Alva.

The whole of Belgium was thus early tamed into submission.

But Holland and Zealand were the most stubborn in their resistance. Here the struggle was continued with characteristic bravery and daring on both sides. "Marvels of force and cruelty attract our attention as much as marvels of patriotism and self-devotion." If the Spanish soldiers were the most intrepid in Europe, the Dutch burghers were the most courageous. Never did any people make a more heroic defence of their religious and civil liberties than did the Dutch. The extraordinary feature of the struggle was that the Dutch had to face an unequal contest almost single-handed. Though they found sympathy among the Protestants of Germany, France and England, they never received any material help from any quarter. Elizabeth, in her own way, would only support them with her secret aids. The Germans were too much divided among themselves to render any substantial help. The Huguenots in whom much confidence was placed were paralysed by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Dutch therefore had to fight out their cause almost alone and unassisted.

The important incident of this struggle during Alva's rule centred round the memorable sieges of Goes, Haarlem, and Alkmaar. Both sides showed the greatest feats of valour. Goes, a town in South Beveland was invested by the patriots and the town, would have surrendered had not the Spanish relief party

The Dutch resistance, its nature.

Siege of Goes.

reached just in time to recover it. The party accomplished a determined march covering ten miles of flooded area in six hours and this wonderful speed saved the town from capture.

Reduction
of Haarlem.

Haarlem was one of the largest towns in the Netherlands. It was not sufficiently protected, its garrison containing only four thousand men and three hundred fighting women.* But the courage of the defenders never failed. The city held out for seven months against thirty thousand besiegers commanded by Don Frederick de Toledo, son of Alva. The city, after all, was reduced by famine and its garrison was mercilessly butchered.

Siege of
Alkmaar.

Alkmaar was attacked next. The patriots rather than allow the town to be taken by the Spaniards resolved to cut open their dykes and thus completely inundate the city. The Spaniards finding that the city could not be taken had ultimately to retire.

Requesens
—his
conciliatory
policy.

Alva's severity had practically failed to curb the national spirit of the Dutch and conscious of his failure, he asked Philip to relieve him of his office. He was succeeded at the end of 1573, by Don Luis de Requesens who ruled the Netherlands for the next three years. He was a man of sober temperament and reversed the repressive policy of Alva. But the struggle was continued, as the patriots would not submit. The notable events during his administration were the siege of Leyden,

* See Motley, 'Dutch Republic,' Vol. II. p. 419.

the outbreak of the Spanish Fury and the Pacification of Ghent.

Leyden was besieged by Requesens and he was almost on the point of taking it, when the Dutch in their last extremity cut the dykes and inundated their city and the surrounding districts. This enabled the relief party to reach the town which was, at the last moment, saved. In commemoration of the brave defence it had made, the Dutch government subsequently endowed it with a university, now one of the most distinguished seats of learning in Europe.

Siege of
Leyden.

Requesens died in 1576. His death was closely followed by two incidents of great importance. The Spanish soldiers, who were in arrears of pay, mutinied. They marched through the country pillaging city after city and thus paying themselves with the spoils. The beautiful city of Antwerp became a ruin in their hands. The horrible massacres and fiendish atrocities committed by the soldiers became known as the 'Spanish Fury'.

The
'Spanish
Fury'.

The natural consequence of these fresh atrocities was that it still further strengthened the determination of the Netherlanders to attain their political liberty at all costs. The seventeen provinces which had hitherto been carrying on their resistance without much cohesion, now united themselves in what is known as the Pacification of Ghent (1596). They agreed to unite, one and all, in driving out the Spaniards and securing for themselves full liberty, both religious and political. William

The
Pacification
of Ghent,
1576.

of Orange became the head of the Union with the title of Stadtholder. One characteristic fact about this union was that it was an alliance of two Protestant and fifteen Catholic provinces under Protestant leadership. It was thus in the truest sense a national union.

Don John of Austria,—
and his
success.

Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, became the next Regent in the Netherlands. He was enjoined by Philip to leave no art untried, fair or foul, in order to suppress the rebels. He actually gained by treachery the possession of several towns which were made the bases of his operations. In 1578, he obtained a great victory at Gembloux but before he could follow it up, he died. He was succeeded by Prince Alexander of Parma, another Spanish general of distinguished ability. Under Parma, the situation in the Netherlands considerably altered. He was able to seize on the religious differences for effecting a split between the northern and southern provinces, and the latter ultimately preferred subjection under Spain to fighting for freedom. The seven northern provinces therefore drew more closely together uniting themselves into a permanent federation by the Treaty of Utrecht (1579). In this treaty the way was paved for the foundation of the Dutch Republic.

Prince of
Parma
effects
split
amongst
the revolted
provinces.

Treaty
of Utrecht,
and the
foundation
of the
Dutch
Republic,
1579.

The success of Parma spurred Philip to action and emboldened him to make an attempt on the life of the Prince of Orange with a view to bring the rebellion to a speedy end. Half of the Netherlands had already submitted and he must crush life out of the other half. So in

1580, he published his notorious 'Ban' condemning Orange as "an enemy of human race" and offering substantial rewards for his assassination. The Prince replied to this 'Ban' in his famous 'Apology of the Prince of Orange,' the most emphatic denouncement of tyranny that was ever penned. The title of the King of the Netherlands, he denied to Philip, who, he said, had forfeited all rights to it by his violation of the most sacred obligations to his people whom he had mercilessly oppressed and massacred. In 1581, these grounds were republished in the memorable 'Declaration of Independence' (the first of its kind in Europe) by which the Dutch formally asserted their liberty.

The Ban
and
Apology.

Declaration
of In-
dependence
by the
Dutch, 1581.

But Philip's 'Ban' soon bore fruit. In 1584 after many unsuccessful attempts on his life, Orange at last fell a victim to the violence of an assassin. The murder was immediately approved of by Philip 'as an exploit of supreme value to Christendom'. But it had the direct effect of filling with alarm the hearts of his watchful enemies. The death of Orange therefore had not its desired effect. Philip's conquest of Portugal, immediately before, had already disturbed the political balance of Europe and the prospect of the restoration of his supremacy also in the Netherlands at once ranged England and France against him.

Murder of
the Prince
of Orange.

Elizabeth had contented herself with rendering secret aids to the Netherlanders in their fight for freedom and religion. This she had done on purpose. She could neither risk an

Elizabeth
and the
Revolt
of the
Netherlands.

open war with Spain nor could she legitimately entertain much sympathy with the revolutionary patriots. To her the revolt of the Netherlands was simply 'a bridle of Spain which kept war out of her own gate'. That the revolt would ultimately succeed was never believed by her. At times the success of Alva or the Prince of Parma would make her really apprehensive of danger but nothing would goad her to help the rebels openly and go to war with Spain.

National
enthusiasm
in England
in favour of
the Dutch.

Her subjects however were disposed otherwise. Public opinion in England every day took a bold and decided turn in favour of the Netherlands. The apathy of their sovereign towards the Dutch was more than compensated for by the sympathy of the nation. The Flemish refugees and the exiled merchants of Antwerp were cordially welcomed by England. "While Elizabeth dribbled out her secret aid to the Prince of Orange, the London traders sent him half a million from their purses." Bands of English volunteers stole across the Channel, their number increasing every day. Tales of Dutch bravery and Spanish atrocities fired the English enthusiasm at every step. "In the presence of this steady drift of popular passion, the diplomacy of Elizabeth became of little moment." But the queen still clung to her old policy. She even refused, in 1575, the sovereignty of the Netherlands offered to her by the patriots. Her acceptance would have committed her to an immediate war with Spain which it was her policy to avoid. But her

Elizabeth's
policy
in the
Netherlands.

resoluteness in maintaining peace was soon to give way. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's day and the murder of the Prince of Orange made her sufficiently alive to the Catholic menace and in 1577 she allied herself with the "States". She even thought of a political marriage with the Duke of Anjou (*alias* the Duke of Alençon), the heir-presumptive to the French throne, in order to counteract the power of Philip. Marriage, however, was never seriously contemplated. The very talk of it had aroused some opposition in England which found expression in Stubbs' scurrilous pamphlet, 'A Gaping Gulf'. But the proposal was not immediately abandoned as the Duke of Anjou had now accepted the Protectorate of the Dutch Republic which furnished new grounds of alliance between France and England. The prince-elect of the Netherlands, however, was a man of no worth. He occupied himself alternately with conducting war in the Netherlands and wooing Elizabeth, and was successful in neither. In 1581, after a partial success which he achieved in forcing Parma to raise the siege of Cambray, and disliking constitutional restrictions put on him in the Netherlands, he conspired to make himself absolute by surprising Antwerp. The 'French Fury' as it was called, revealed his treachery and roused popular resentment against him and the French. Though his Protectorate was nominally retained, he lost all power and prestige in the Netherlands together with what

Anglo-French marriage scheme.

Stubbs' 'A gaping gulf'.

Anjou elected Protector of the Dutch Republic.

'French Fury' and reaction against Anjou.

Fall of
Antwerp
1585.

prospect he had of marrying Elizabeth. His subsequent death in 1583 relieved the Netherlands of French influence and Elizabeth was brought face to face in opposition to Philip. Meanwhile Parma was following up his successes and captured Antwerp in 1585, the crowning triumph of his generalship. The fall of Antwerp practically made Spain again supreme in the Netherlands, and the 'bridle' that Elizabeth spoke of, now being gone, she and Philip found themselves in open war with each other.

Prince
Maurice,
the new
Stadtholder,
assisted by
Elizabeth.

Siege of
Zutphen.

Failure of
Leicester.

The Dutch were continuing their noble fight for freedom in spite of the almost uninterrupted success of Parma. They elected Prince Maurice as their new Stadtholder. Meanwhile Elizabeth had sent a strong detachment under her favourite the Earl of Leicester and a fleet under the command of Francis Drake. With Leicester was the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, 'the flower of English chivalry'. While Drake returned after a triumphant voyage burning and plundering Spanish coast towns, Leicester was paralysed by his own military incapacity. At Zutphen which he had besieged, the brave Sir Philip Sidney died. Leicester without achieving anything returned to England thoroughly disgraced. But the entire blame for this failure could not be laid at his doors. It was partly due, no doubt, to his own incapacity as a commander and to his intriguing temper, but the Dutch distrust of Elizabeth and her stinted financial assistance had also much to do with the disastrous issue.

Meanwhile the contest with Philip was continued in, which France became subsequently involved. The destruction of the Spanish Armada, whose success would have materialised Philip's ambition, gave a turning point to the war. Spain carried on its losing contest till 1609. The Dutch Independence was not recognised till the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648.

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CHAPTER VI.

The Religious Wars in France. Second Phase.

Second
Religious
War in
France.

Alva's success in the Netherlands roused direct apprehension in the Huguenots. His repressive measures were considered as a grave menace to Protestantism in Europe. Their apprehension became greater when they found a change in the usual conciliatory attitude of Catharine de Medicis who, as against Coligny, the Huguenot leader, now decidedly leant towards the Catholic party. Cardinal of Lorraine, (brother of the Duke of Guise) was given a seat in the council and troops were raised which the Huguenots supposed to be meant against them. Forestalling these dangers, their turbulent nature made them take a bold step in surprising the court and forcing it to dismiss Lorraine and the foreign mercenaries. This led to the Second Religious War.

Events
of the War.

The Huguenots suffered a defeat at St. Denis (1567). But the presence of a strong German army which came to their help forced the king to make peace and re-issue the Edict of Toleration.

The peace was a mere make-shift. Scarcely six months had passed when, urged by Alva and the Pope, the young king of France, Charles IX, revoked the edict, and

both parties again plunged into war (1569). The Huguenots were joined by the Prince of Orange and received aids from the German Protestants and Elizabeth. But they were unlucky from the very beginning. They sustained serious reverses first, at Jarnac where Condé was slain and then at Moncontour. Coligny had to retire to Rochelle where he was able to strengthen his position by organising regular naval raids on the coasts. Another army was also raised with which he now threatened Paris.

War renewed,
1569.

Huguenot
reverses.

In continuing the war, the royal party was only throwing themselves into the arms of Spain, the natural leader of Catholicism. This was soon realised and the national jealousy of Spain immediately united the Catholics and Huguenots to make a peace again which was concluded at St. Germain (1570), the latter receiving Rochelle and three other towns as security for peace.

Peace of
St. Germain.

Though peace was made, family jealousy was soon to create a new situation in France. Charles IX. who was weak in intelligence and extremely passionate became jealous of his brother, the Duke of Anjou, and made common cause with the Huguenots. Coligny became his chief adviser. With him the young king came under a most powerful influence. He took care to make him more and more convinced of the necessity of peace at home and war with Spain. Catharine de Medicis whose love of power was unbounded was alarmed at Coligny's influence. She at once joined the

Massacre of
St. Bartholo-
mew's Day,
1572.

Catholics and with her natural aptitude for intrigues engaged herself in plotting for his assassination. Her first attempt failed but it had the immediate effect of rousing the worst passions of both the parties. Catharine was seeking for an opportunity to deal a heavy blow at the Huguenots which unluckily for them was soon furnished by the occasion of the marriage of their leader, Henry of Navarre with Margaret of Valois, sister of the French king. The gathering of the Huguenots in Paris to celebrate the marriage, at once suggested to fiendish Catharine to hatch a scheme for their wholesale massacre. The imbecile Charles IX. was won over by his mother with wild exaggerations about Huguenot plots, and by means of alternate threats and persuasion she was able to obtain a royal sanction for her scheme. On the morning of St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572, the Huguenot camps were surrounded and, with the exceptions of Navarre and Condé, all the leaders were put to death. A general massacre was then followed, spreading from town to town and counting as its victims about 50,000 men.

General
effect of the
Massacre.

The massacre though it appeared unpremeditated to many was undoubtedly the most atrocious of its kind. The news was differently received in different states of Europe. The Catholic states were all full of joy. The Pope had the '*Te Deum*' sung in Rome. Philip was overjoyed. Alva could not disguise his feeling of delight at the death of Coligny. In him he said 'France had lost a great captain and

Spain a great foe'. The French king felt that he could now be truly king, and Catharine thought that her position was never so secure. Indignation in Protestant countries on the other hand was also great. The massacre was denounced without reserve. Elizabeth publicly appeared in mourning. In the Netherlands, the patriots thus abruptly cut off from the support of the Huguenots, grew more desperate and determined than ever. The massacre however did not lead to any political rupture between the Catholic and Protestant states and diplomatic relations with these countries were continued as before.

The massacre proved decidedly detrimental to the national interests of France. Hitherto it had held a moderate position between the Catholics and the Protestants in Europe as it equally well represented both the conflicting creeds within itself. The ruin of the Huguenots and the consequent accession to the Catholic strength in France was thus a direct gain to Spain. France at last woke to the sense of her danger and soon returned to her old pacific policy.

Effect of the
Massacre in
France.

The Huguenots however were not to be pacified easily. The massacre had driven them to revolt and they were able to maintain themselves for a considerable time at La-Rochelle. Meanwhile the national views had undergone considerable change which found expression in the rise of a third party, the 'Politiques', whose creed, as opposed to that of the Catholics and the Huguenots, was

Rise of the
Politiques.

absolute religious toleration. "The term 'Politiques' originally implying that those denoted by it acted from motives of policy rather than of principle, came to define the group which, while remaining within Catholic religion and when called upon, bearing arms on the side of the king, were opposed to all coercion in the matters of religion." The appearance of this party had immediate effect. Peace was concluded with the Huguenots and liberty of conscience and worship were granted to Rochelle and two other towns. But Henry III. who succeeded his brother in 1524 again reverted to the policy of persecution. The Politiques now joined by Francis Alencon, the Younger Condé, Henry of Navarre, and Elector Palatine, proved too strong for him. Peace was again concluded at Monsieur (1576) by which free exercise of religion was allowed to the Huguenots everywhere except in Paris.

Henry of
Navarre.

The Duke of Alencon died in 1584; and Henry III. being childless, the succession to the French throne was next opened to Henry of Navarre, the avowed leader of the Huguenots. The Catholics were alarmed at the new prospect and soon formed a league under the leadership of Henry, Duke of Guise, in alliance with Spain. The immediate object of the league was to exclude Henry of Navarre from the throne, its ulterior object being to drive heresy out of France and the Netherlands. It was declared that the Catholic subjects were not bound to recognise a heretic ruler. The league acquired much power

The
Catholic
League.

within a short time and forced Henry III. to revoke the previous treaties of peace with the Huguenots. But it had to face a powerful opponent in the 'Politiques' who wished to unite the different hostile religious sections in France and get Henry of Navarre converted into Catholicism. As such a nationalist project would be detrimental to Philip's interest and that of the Catholics, they became anxious for war.

The war broke out in 1585. Henry of Navarre defeated the Leaguers at Coutras (1587). Henry Duke of Guise defeated the German troops at Anneau. His success made him the idol of the French Catholics and Paris mobs. The Duke then drove king Henry III. from Paris who, however, shortly after procured the assassination of Guise. This action of the king gave rise to a Catholic revolt against him and he had to seek safety in joining the Huguenots. He was, soon afterwards, stabbed by a monk. Henry of Navarre declared himself king under the title of Henry IV. (1592). He immediately put an end to the war by abjuring his Calvinistic faith and formally adopting Catholicism. Henry's conversion was a great triumph for the Politiques.

The Catholic League, after passing through many vicissitudes at the machination of Spain, was at last dissolved through the submission of Paris and of the Duke of Mayenne, its leader. Its dissolution saw again a united France and simultaneously dealt a death-blow to Philip's project of making France a Spanish

The War
of the Three
Henries,
1585—1592.

Dissolution
of the
Catholic
League
and its
effect.

dependency. France recovered from a great political torpor, and stood shoulder to shoulder with England to fight Spain.

The
Edict of
Nantes.

In 1598 Henry IV. made peace with Philip at Vervins, and promulgated the celebrated Edict of Nantes by which full toleration was granted to the Huguenots. The Edict brought the religious quarrel in France to an end.

BOOK II.

RELIGIOUS STRUGGLES IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Early at her accession Elizabeth took a most conciliatory attitude towards the Papacy. She was of course resolved to assert her own supremacy in the English Church just as her father had done, but at first she had no intention to break away from Catholicism. With a view to preserve an apparent connection with Rome, she had announced her accession to the Pope ; but between herself and the Pope lay the fatal question of her legitimacy. To the Papacy, to recognise Elizabeth was not only to recognise the validity of her mother's marriage but also to repudiate its own pronouncement against the legitimacy of her birth and title. Pope Paul IV. therefore at the news of Elizabeth's succession republished the ban and indiscreetly summoned her to submit her claims to the English throne to his tribunal. This uncompromising attitude of the Pope practically decided her course. The Parliamentary recognition of her legitimacy and title to the crown was immediately obtained and was followed by a complete repudiation of the supremacy of the Pope. The last chance of a Papal reconciliation was thus gone

Elizabeth
and the
Papacy.

Paul IV and
Elizabeth.

and with it that of a satisfactory solution of the Catholic problems in England.

Pius IV. and Elizabeth.

The wrath of Paul IV. was counter-balanced by the policy of Philip. Against the Stuart-Valois schemes, Philip had no other alternative than to cling to Elizabeth in spite of her anti-papal and pro-protestant policy. He therefore kept in check Paul IV.'s threats of excommunication by his own personal influence. The Papal policy underwent considerable change in the hands of Paul's successor Pius IV. Pius saw that England was lost to Catholicism simply through Paul's bigotry which refused to come to terms with Elizabeth. But he was too prudent a man to despair. In 1560 he sent a papal legate to open negotiations with Elizabeth. It was a most critical moment for the queen. She was participating in a Protestant war along with Scotland to drive the French out of that country. Her refusal at this moment to receive the Papal Legate was likely to drive the English Catholics into revolt. His reception again would have led to Protestant discontent and mistrust by her Scottish allies. Here Philip was of utmost help to her and practically saved her from a very ugly situation. The legate was detained in Flanders by his orders till his threats obtained from Pius an order for his recall.

Elizabeth and the Council of Trent.

Yet another attempt was made by Pius IV. to bring about a reconciliation with Elizabeth and win back England to Catholicism. The Reformation and its rapid progress had almost

raised a cry for Catholic church-reform simultaneously in France and Spain which forced the Pope to call another session of the Council of Trent. This new opportunity was fully availed of by Pius to invite the Protestant princes of Europe to take part in its deliberations. Philip anxious to bring her round to the old faith pressed Elizabeth to accept the invitation. Like the Protestant states of Germany she refused to have anything to do with the assembly at Trent which she said was not a "free Christian council." "Her refusal," says Green, "was decisive in marking Elizabeth's position. The long period of hesitation, of drift was over. All chance of submission to the Papacy was at an end. In joining the Lutheran states in their rejection of this council, England had definitely ranged itself on the side of Reformation."

The main object of the Elizabethan church settlement was to secure permanent religious peace in England and with a view to this end, Elizabeth had carefully clothed her religion with a decided Catholic appearance. But mere appearance failed to beguile the English Catholics for long. They saw that Elizabeth was slowly and steadily drifting towards Protestantism. The reasons for her refusal to join the Council of Trent were unmistakably clear. Her help to the Scots, the Huguenots and the Netherlands. secret or open, had an undoubted religious motive behind it. Under such circumstances the confidence of her Catholic subjects was rudely shaken. The

Elizabethan
Settlement
and the
Catholics.

Beginning
of the Papal
war on
Elizabeth.

triumph of the Guises in France and the success of Alva in the Netherlands raised fresh hopes in their breasts. The Papal action declaring attendance at the Common Prayer to be unlawful gave a blow to uniformity of worship which had therefore to be enforced by law. The possibility of a peaceful Catholic restoration through a marriage of the queen also passed away when she, much to the disappointment of her subjects, successively refused Philip, the Austrain Archduke, and Dudley. The conciliatory efforts of Pius IV. also failed and the last hope of a Catholic succession after Elizabeth was ruined by the fall of Mary Queen of Scots. The despair of the English Catholics therefore became deeper everyday, and troubles soon began to gather with the advent of Pius V. in Rome (1565) and of the Scottish queen in England.

Pius V. and
Elizabeth.

The most active and austere of all Popes, Pius V. in his early life was a Dominican Inquisitor. It was he who first set back the policy of inaction and by his earnestness and zeal once again made Rome the centre of the political and religious life of Europe. This he was able to do on account of the democratic associations of Calvinism which was then making rapid progress in Europe. The triumph of Calvinism naturally implied the ruin of absolute Monarchy in every form. Catholicism on the other hand with its policy of centralisation was entirely identified with the cause of Monarchy. Pius V. was thus able to associate monarchy and Papacy together as the dread of

Calvinism was shared by both. Combining in himself the "ruthlessness of the persecutor with the ascetic devotion of a saint," he earnestly set himself to work out his life's single aim *viz.* the re-catholicising of Europe. He would shrink from no measures which would subserve his ends. To chastise heresy with fire and sword was a propaganda which he broadly preached to the Catholic princes. It was he who had urged Philip to send Alva to the Netherlands; it was he again who openly rewarded that general for his cruelties. Pius's hands, seen working everywhere in Europe, were particularly active in England. England was to all eyes the only important state which was strong enough to furnish a "centre to the reformed communions of Europe." So Pius V., Alva, and Philip all united against Elizabeth in furtherance of their general scheme of a Catholic revival in Europe. But the very first act of the Pope was a political blunder. He issued a bull, *Regnans in Excelsis* on Feb. 25, 1570, by which Elizabeth was excommunicated and deprived of her pretended right to the English throne. It also absolved her subjects from allegiance to her and anathematised all who would obey her. The Bull, though it was a severe blow to Elizabeth's religious settlement, met with unanimous reprobation from the monarchs of Europe, and roused considerable indignation in England, where it was considered analogous to a declaration of war.

The Bull of
Excommu-
nication,
1570.

The Bull however was not without its effect.

Effect of
the Bull.

It was brought by Ridolfi, an Italian merchant settled in London who was under the pay of Rome, to incite Catholic revolt in England. John Felton, an English student who was bold enough to affix a copy of the Bull on the door of the Bishop of London, paid the penalty of death for his rash act. The death of Felton saw the beginning of the Elizabethan persecution of the Catholics. The character of this persecution of course differed from that of Mary Tudor, in as much as it was not a persecution for one's religious opinion or belief but for one's manner of worship. Henceforth strict conformity to the established church was required of all. The religious truce, which Elizabeth was so anxious to bring about, was thus at an end. The Papal Bull of excommunication had thus two important results. First, it had made Parliamentary intervention in Elizabeth's favour necessary and secondly, it gave the English Catholics a choice between Elizabeth and the Pope. The Catholic question in England was thus changed from a domestic into an European issue. The English Catholics had now to take a decided step and those of the North readily answered the Pope's call by withdrawing themselves from the national worship. A series of plots and counter-plots were soon to be hatched against Elizabeth's life and throne involving her in another great crisis of her reign.

In answer to the Papal Bull, the Parliament of 1571 passed a bill declaring it high treason to call Elizabeth a heretic or to affirm that any

particular person was her successor ; it enacted that all persons should not only attend the church but receive the communion twice a year ; it forbade also a formal reconciliation with the Romish church or the introduction of any Papal Bull into England : any infringement was to be considered as high treason and punishable as such.

Measures
for the
queen's
safety.

These repressive measures only intensified the Catholic discontent in England. Their feeling of exasperation and disappointment at Elizabeth's religious policy, early found expression in the Aristocratic Plots mainly in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, now a refugee in England. Her presence was followed by all its dreaded consequences. We have seen how Elizabeth's intercessions in her favour fell flat on the ears of the Scottish nobility. But if she was "zealous for the cause of monarchy, she had no mind to crush the nobles who had given her security against her rival, simply to seat that rival triumphantly on the throne." Hence her dilemma, was very great. She was unable to restore Mary to Scotland. To retain her in England for any length of time was impossible as it would make her a centre of Catholic plots. To set her free would be equally dangerous as it would furnish the Guises with a terrible weapon against herself and invite French intervention in Scotland. At all events Mary remained a close political prisoner in England in spite of Elizabeth's anxieties to hand her over to the Scottish nobles.

Aristocratic
Plots in
England.

CHAPTER II.

Elizabeth and Catholic Conspiracies.

First trial
of Mary
Stuart.

The 'Casket
Letters.

The first act of Elizabeth with respect to her rival and captive, Mary Queen of Scots, was to sit in judgment over her for the alleged murder of her husband which Murray charged her with. She distinctly refused to consider Mary's representations either for a personal interview or for a free passage to France before she had cleared herself of the charge. A conference which was to sit at York was, therefore, mutually agreed upon amongst Elizabeth, Mary, and the Scottish government. The Duke of Norfolk, the chief English peer, acted as the principal commissioner, and the Scottish government and Mary sent their respective representatives. The proceedings were more political than legal and nothing was judicially pronounced against Mary nor against her accusers. But the commissioners found ample grounds, after examining the 'Casket Letters' and other evidences against Mary, for advising Elizabeth to refuse Mary the interview she solicited. Mary therefore remained a prisoner in Elizabeth's hands without being condemned, while Murray received a large sum as loan 'for the maintenance of peace between England and Scotland.'

Though Elizabeth found no legal grounds

for imprisoning Mary, her detention in England proved a political necessity. Mary's long captivity and the tragedy which closed her life were indeed the doings, so to say, of the English nation and not merely of Elizabeth herself. The door was already shut on Mary in her own kingdom and a strong party was growing up in her favour in the land of her captivity. Already while the conference was sitting at York, Elizabeth discovered that Norfolk himself was planning to marry Mary with the full approval of the majority of the English nobility. The plan had no immediate political object but only sought to "strengthen the conservative party which desired to keep up the old alliance with Spain and looked for the re-establishment sooner or later of the old religion." But the scheme sufficiently alarmed Elizabeth as it was subsequently found that Norfolk had sought aid in his marriage-plot both from Philip and the Pope with a view to bring about a Catholic restoration. With the Catholic lords he was also plotting for the overthrow of Cecil. The marriage project of Norfolk however had to be abandoned on the refusal of Murray to readmit Mary into Scotland as queen. Norfolk's plan being thus frustrated, he had ultimately to give an undertaking not to communicate with Mary in any way without Elizabeth's sanction.

Mary Stuart
detained in
England.

The English nobility had long been brooding over some acute feudal and religious grievances, of which the three following were the most prominent :

Causes of
the feudal
or aristo-
cratic plots.

1. Nationalisation of the church: The English nobility, still mainly Catholic, resented the repudiation of all connections with Rome and the complete nationalisation of the church. As the prospect of returning to Catholicism became more and more remote, their discontent grew intenser till they found themselves hopelessly entangled in Popish conspiracies and foreign plots against Elizabeth.

2. Development of the national system: The old feudal jurisdictions, secular and ecclesiastical, domestic and foreign, still survived to a certain extent. But their gradual absorption into a uniform national system by a continued policy of centralisation produced discontent in the many holders of these mediæval franchises. When Mary Stuart, for example, came to England her custody was claimed by the Earl of Northumberland in whose soil she first set on foot, in virtue of his old feudal rights. There was thus constant quarrel between the crown and the lords on questions of 'jurisdictions'. The Percies in particular were long resenting Elizabeth's interference in these matters.

3. Rise of "upstart" administrators: The nobles also disliked that the monarchy should be served by such men as Cecil, Walsingham, and Bacon instead of, as of old, by the members of their own order. They had a particular grudge against Cecil who rose from a very low origin to the highest position in the state. They also disliked Cecil's policy which was directed towards the elevation of the

powers of the kings as against the power of the Lords.

The discontent of the nobles varying greatly in intensity practically divided them into three parties. The first was composed of men like Sussex who would loyally serve the queen but at the same time urge on her to maintain the Spanish alliance, marry the Archduke, cease to have anything to do with the Huguenots and foreign Protestants, to discourage piracy on sea, and lastly to recognise Mary Queen of Scots as her successor. The second party included men like Norfolk, Montague, Arundel and Southampton who were all in treasonable communication with the Spanish ambassador and particularly desired to overthrow Cecil, to marry Mary to Norfolk, and to compel Elizabeth to restore the Catholic form of worship. The third party on the other hand was headed by the Northern lords who were plotting for the deposition of Elizabeth in favour of Mary whom they would marry to Don John of Austria. The object of these three parties made unity amongst them impossible. The violent section wanted to draw in Philip who was cautious enough not to commit himself till something decisive was done in England, such as the overthrow of Cecil or the liberation of Mary. The Catholic conspiracies, thus, had to mainly depend on their own strength without much foreign support; and this was decidedly to Elizabeth's advantage.

Three
aristocratic
parties.

Their
respective
aims.

Cecil was always pursuing an anti-Catholic policy both at home and abroad. The real

Southern
Conspiracy.

**Plot
against
Cecil.**

enemies he feared were not only the Pope and Philip but also his Catholic countrymen. He was always urging his sovereign on his great scheme of a Protestant Confederacy consisting of England, Sweden, Denmark, the German princes, the Scottish Protestants, the Calvinists in France and the Netherlands, against the Catholic powers. He was against harbouring in England Mary Queen of Scots whose execution he never ceased to advise as necessary for the queen's safety. He was evidently also against the marriage scheme of Norfolk with Mary Queen of Scots. As Cecil was thus the great obstacle to Norfolk's plans, the latter's party came to the conclusion that Cecil must be removed. A plot was hatched and alliances made far and wide to achieve their end. But Elizabeth always stood staunchly by her minister. Thrice the lords attempted to arrest Cecil but without success. They next complained to Elizabeth that an upstart should not have the entire control of the council, and openly charged Cecil with sowing dissension between the queen and the nobility.

**Elizabeth
supported
her minister.**

For a time and to some extent, they even succeeded in curbing Cecil's power. The lords were taken into confidence by the queen and were allowed some share in diplomatic business done by herself or her minister. But Cecil's surrender was wholly delusive and he soon disentangled himself from the meshes of the opposition. With great skill and tact Cecil again got the upper hand again in the state, to the utter disappointment of his adversaries. He

had, a little before, while urging on Elizabeth for Mary's execution, clothed his real object by concurring in the council that she should be by concurring in the council that she should be the Scottish queen married to an Englishman *viz.* to Norfolk. Norfolk was immediately unmasked of his design to raise a rebellion in the eastern countries and to carry off the captive Mary from Wingfield. The revealing of this conspiracy was a real triumph for Cecil. Norfolk was sent to the Tower, Mary removed to Tutbury castle and the rest of the southern plotters permanently silenced.

The collapse of the southern conspiracy did not prevent similar attempts being made elsewhere. The condition of the North was particularly favourable for breeding a successful rebellion. The population was mostly Catholic and backward in culture. Traditions of feudalism had not died out altogether in these northern counties. From the moment of Mary's advent into England, the great Northern Earls—the Cliffords of Cumberland, the Nevilles of Westmoreland, and the Percies of Northumberland, had been only waiting for a signal for revolt. Catholic success in France and the Netherlands was ensuring the foreign aid they required. There was also a proposal to complete the Catholic success by uniting the forces of France and Spain against Elizabeth. The English plotters now sought Philip's sanction to their rebellion and placed themselves at his disposal. In the meantime Norfolk's schemes were shattered and Elizabeth,

Rebellion
of the
Northern
Earls.

seeking to strike at the Northern Earls, summoned Westmoreland and Northumberland to court. Fearing that they would be treated no better than Norfolk, they preferred to raise the standard of rebellion. Forces were hastily gathered and on Nov. 14, 1569 they entered Durham, celebrated Mass, and publicly burnt the Prayer Book and the English Bible. But the rebellion failed to spread as anticipated. Mary was removed to Coventry. Sussex stoutly held York for Elizabeth. The Southern lords refused to join without help from Spain. Dacres held aloof, and Derby remained loyal. The rebellion thus broke down as rapidly as it had appeared. Northumberland and Westmoreland fled to Scotland. Elizabeth's vengeance was swift and cruel. Most of the insurgents were sent to the gallows; Northumberland, surrendered by Murray two years later, was executed. Westmoreland died in the Netherlands; and the northern counties were finally cowed into submission.

Effect of the
Aristocratic
Plots.

These plots revealed the nature and extent of the Catholic discontent in England. It also showed how hollow was the league formed by the Catholic nobles against Elizabeth. Elizabeth's cautious and temporising policy in spite of its defects had made a thorough Catholic union impossible. The lords were disunited amongst themselves and the mass of the Catholic subjects were on the whole loyal to their queen. The failure of the Aristocratic Plots therefore made Elizabeth's hold over her

people stronger than ever. In spite of her open enmity with Philip, the latter was afraid of attacking her, lest she should be driven to ally herself with France. France on the other hand was leaning more and more towards England for fear of Spain.

Catholic conspiracies still went on brewing. In Scotland the Catholic party aimed at the assassination of Murray who was the only obstacle in their path to power. Murray was shot dead by an assassin in 1570. A fierce civil war broke out in Scotland between the partisans of Mary and those of her Protestant son. The death of Murray was a great blow to Elizabeth as it immediately destroyed all her influence in Scotland. She however quickly despatched troops to Scotland and was able to secure the Regency for the Earl of Lennox.

Catholic
Conspiracy
in Scotland :
Murder of
Murray.

Elizabeth now proposed a tripartite treaty between England, France and Scotland with a view to bringing about an amicable settlement of Scotch affairs. Mary's restoration was proposed on condition that neither of the other powers should interfere in Scotland. Cecil was opposed to Mary's restoration on any condition and vehemently protested against the proposed treaty. As to the question of intervention neither party could completely trust the other. The real desire of Catharine de Medicis and Charles IX. was to make an alliance with Elizabeth against Philip, but they had no intention of binding themselves down in any way as regards Scotland, as they still hoped to regain their influence there by a

Elizabeth's
proposed
Tripartite
Treaty.

marriage between the Duke of Anjou and the Scottish queen. Elizabeth was so eager to conclude this treaty that she proposed a match between herself and the Duke which had the warm approval of her minister. Her overtures were also very welcome to the French court. Arming herself on this point, she now summoned the Scottish factions to accept the tripartite arrangement. Mary herself would agree to any condition as a means of obtaining her release on which she could as of old, play her usual perfidious game. The Scotch faction however flatly rejected the proposed treaty and on their refusal the scheme fell through and with it ultimately the Anjou-marriage project.

The Treaty
of Blois,
1572.

Meanwhile, the situation in Europe was closely drawing England and France together. England had already broken through her insularity and had acquired a new political importance. France, as her fear of Spanish aggrandisement increased, leaned decidedly towards England and opened a marriage negotiation between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, "a negotiation which through the skill of Cecil, now Lord Burghley, led shortly to the treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive,* between England and France, concluded at Blois (April 29, 1572)." By this alliance, which was "the corner-stone of her foreign policy," Elizabeth first of all sought to protect England from invasion even in the cause of

Its terms.

* See Cambridge Modern History Vol. III. p. 283.

religion. It was also agreed that no innovation would be attempted in Scotland on either side and that it was to be defended against foreigners, but the English queen would have the right 'to chastise by arms the Scots who shall countenance English rebels'. Mary's cause was presumably abandoned by France as she was not mentioned in the treaty.

It is significant to note the change in the mutual relations amongst England, France and Spain in 1572. In 1559 France was "the natural enemy of England, while Spain from political necessity was a friend." The treaty of Blois, now completely reversed their respective relations. In 1572 England had never a greater enemy than Spain or a stauncher friend than France.

Significance
of the
Treaty of
Blois.

The treaty of Blois was shortly preceded by another wide-spread conspiracy against Elizabeth. Ridolfi, whom we have seen bringing the Popish Bull against her was now employed by the Duke of Norfolk and Mary to hatch with Alva, the Pope, and the king of Spain a more dangerous plot for her destruction. France was not taken into confidence. While every one agreed that Elizabeth was to be assassinated and Norfolk and Mary to be united in marriage as sovereigns of Great Britain, no one would seriously support the conspirators. When the plans were being matured, Burghley discovered the whole plot. The Spanish ambassador was immediately dismissed from Elizabeth's court; Bishop of Ross, Mary's agent, was committed to the Tower;

Catholic
Conspiracies
in England :
the Ridolfi
Plot, 1571.

Execution
of Norfolk.

and Norfolk, tried and condemned for treason, was executed (1572).

Effects of
the failure
of Ridolfi
conspiracy.

The failure of the conspiracy proved that Elizabeth's position was much stronger now than it was before, and that insurrection after the failure of the twin aristocratic plots was already a 'played-out game in England'. Elizabeth again obtained her hold in Scotland and recognised King James as the rightful sovereign against the claims of Mary which she had been hitherto upholding. Parliament (1572) was thus encouraged to proceed with a 'bill of attainder' against Mary, but was checked by Elizabeth. Mary was thus for a time spared.

The
Elizabethan
crisis :
its political
significance ;

The years 1569 to 1572 were thus remarkable as marking a period of extreme crisis to Elizabeth. Three successive blows were aimed at her—the Northern rebellion of 1569, the Papal Bull of 1570, and the Ridolfi conspiracy of 1571—which would have brought in great changes had they succeeded, but all were crushed by the queen and her ever watchful ministers. The treaty of Blois which followed these events, showed that her position was never more secure. The period was also very significant in the history of the continent. The capture of Brill (1572) starting the revolt of the Netherlands, in fact, laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic. The St. Bartholomew massacre occurring in the same year, though surpassing in atrocities, was fruitful in bringing back the political equanimity of France which was drawn closer to England. Spain at last realised

In Europe.

that subjugation of England was a necessity for the pacification of the Netherlands, and was full of schemes against Elizabeth.

The suppression of the Ridolfi conspiracy ^{In} and the execution of the Duke of Norfolk also ^{England.} marked an epoch in English history. The departing shades of the feudal power and its hope of making a stand against its sovereign as it used to do of old, disappeared altogether with the failure of the Northern rebellion and the consequent ruin of the old nobility. It was clearly proved that the Old Nobility and the New Monarchy were wholly incompatible with each other. Loyalty to a single centralised power was becoming more exigent day by day. The fall of nobility which the Elizabethan age witnessed, proved a "necessary incident in the evolution of the modern political organisation" in England. The old order was passing away; the control of the state-affairs was slowly passing from old hands to new. New forces were everywhere at work; in council, in Parliament, and in the moral and material relations of national life, they were "making for the expansion of England and for a revolution in its diplomatic relations."

The St. Bartholomew massacre and the panic it created in England would certainly have sent Mary to the scaffold but for a stroke of good fortune. That Mary was the "one perpetual focus of disaffection and conspiracy" was too bitterly realised by Elizabeth and after her fatal experiences, she was now desirous of removing

Relation
between
Mary and
Elizabeth
after 1572.

her from England. She wrote to the Regent Mar (who had succeeded Lennox) that she would surrender Mary to him for due trial and punishment. Her design was not carried out, for Mar died soon after the negotiations were opened (1573). After this there was a lull in the struggle between the two rival queens. In Scotland Mar was succeeded by Morton and the civil war that had been going on ever since Murray's death was coming to a close (cf. *The Pacification of Perth*). The hopes of the Marian party were at last extinguished by the capitulation of the Edinburgh Castle, so long held out for their exiled queen by Kircaldy and Maitland. The capitulation was a triumph for the Scottish Reformation. It was followed by a period of commercial activity and material prosperity, due to a great extent to the wise rule of Morton. Meanwhile the strained relation between Mary and Elizabeth were also undergoing change. Elizabeth's action in proroguing the Parliament of 1572, which was manifestly hostile to Mary, showed, at least, that she was getting less and less apprehensive of her rival. The public, also, was encouraged to imagine that Elizabeth still regarded her as her successor. The severity of public opinion, thus considerably softened in favour of Mary, who herself was led to believe, as she said to the Archbishop of Glasgow, that her prospects of a peaceful succession were never better than now. That Elizabeth was treating her with some consideration was beyond doubt. As Beesley says, "The desire of the English

Queen to reinstate her rival arose principally from an uneasy consciousness that by detaining her in custody she was fatally impairing the religious respect for sovereigns, which was the main, if not the only, basis of their power." But her desire, however sincere it was, could never be fulfilled so long as it was equally evident that Mary would not cease to be a trouble, even if she was seated on the Scottish throne. Presumably the difficulties would be greater than if she remained in England. Policy, more than conscience, therefore, dictated to Elizabeth that Mary should never be restored. But at the same time she would not allow Mary's chances for English succession to suffer from unfriendly attacks. Elizabeth retained this peculiar attitude towards Mary till the Throckmorton conspiracy (1584).

CHAPTER III.

The Catholic Crusade in England.

**Papal attack
renewed by
Gregory
XIII.**

Pius V. died in 1572. But his aggressive policy was continued by his still abler successor Gregory XIII. The new Pope, unlike his predecessor was not satisfied with merely stirring up the Catholic princes against England; but he took the field himself. It was he who for the first time in the history of the Catholic Church organised a regular crusade against a Christian state. Suppression of England as a necessary step towards the suppression of heresy was so keenly realised by the Catholics that Gregory did not hesitate to make such a wide departure from the customary papal policy. The weapons with which he proposed to fight were papal money, and the papal priests. Enormous sums were raised by the Pope and spent freely to provide army, fleet and other fighting requisites for his crusade. To this material factor he added a spiritual one in the agency of the Seminary Priests to work out a silent revolution in favour of Catholicism. This was the most effective instrument that he used against Elizabeth. The Catholics, we have seen, were most indulgently treated in the first fourteen years of her reign, and the practically enjoyed the free exercise of their religion. But gradually the tendency towards conformity to the national church was

**The
Seminary
priests.**

becoming more and more marked. People were yielding to the time, till they were rudely awakened by the advent of these popish priests whose preaching had at once the striking effect of rekindling the flame that was slowly dying out. Elizabeth had at first treated their presence with indifference. But the popish emissaries soon roused her worst suspicions which deepened into perfect terror. Persecution of the Catholics was, now more vigorously organised, and stringent laws were passed against them and their priests. The Parliament of 1581 made it high treason to reconcile any of Her Majesty's subjects or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and imposed a penalty of twenty pounds a month on all persons absenting themselves from the established church. Besides these penalties on recusancy it was also made treasonable to allow Romish priests to land in England, or to harbour them. Elizabeth no longer hesitated to use capital punishment on the score of religion. The first instance of a priest suffering death under her statutes was in 1577, when Cuthbert Mayne was hanged merely for possessing a copy of the papal bull. In the following year Thomas Sherwood, a boy of sixteen years, was executed for refusing to deny the temporal power of the Pope. In 1581 two priests named Parsons and Campion were arrested on a charge of treasonable plot, of which the latter was manifestly innocent. Parsons escaped to the continent, but Campion was tortured, made to confess and then

Penal laws
against the
priests
and the
Catholics.

Executions
under the
new Act
of 1577.

Cuthbert
Mayne.

Thomas
Sherwood.

Campion.

Justification
of the
execution of
Campion.

executed. The punishment of Campion was unusually severe, for his mission was purely apostolic and as a preacher he had earned great respect for his learning and virtues. But he was so unfortunate as to belong to the order of the Jesuits whose very creed could not put them above suspicion. It was surely very difficult for Elizabeth to discriminate between the good and the bad, particularly in the face of the new interpretation put upon the papal bull by Gregory, *viz.*, that "the bull should be considered as always in force against Elizabeth and the heretics, but should only be binding on Catholics when due execution of it could be had." He, in fact, enjoined the English Catholics to dissemble so long as a better opportunity for revolt was not forthcoming. The Catholics, thus, even when they had conformed, could not be free from suspicion. Campion's case presented in this light could not appear *prima facie* so unjust as it was generally taken to be. Elizabeth and her Council were alive to the very dangerous situation created by the seminary priests, whom they considered as popish agents. In view of the state of war that now existed between Elizabeth and the Pope, the extreme step taken by her against Campion and the papists generally could be amply justified. In the natural fitness of things, therefore, we find that the "rack seldom stood idle in the Tower" in the latter part of her reign. The queen's severity on the score of religion was defended by Cecil as persecutions "no way connected

with religious tenets but grounded on the ancient laws for the protection of the queen's person and government from conspiracy."

Elizabeth's persecution of the Catholics, ^{Failure of the Papal scheme in England.} had however, its desired effects. The papal scheme of Catholic revival in England through the agency of the seminary priests proved a total failure in the end. Though plots against the life and throne of Elizabeth continued unabated, in almost all cases they were easily detected and suppressed. The last of these conspiracies brought Mary, Queen of Scots to the block and with her death, the triumph of Protestantism was complete.

In England the Pope employed only the ^{Papal scheme of an invasion of England through Scotland.} spiritual agency for his crusade. In Scotland he proposed to use both army and priests. At first he tried to bring James to his side by lending out the hope that could he restore Catholicism in Scotland, he would have substantial help from France and Spain to liberate his mother and to conquer England. James, on his part lent only a very unwilling ear to the papal persuasions, though he would have been glad to free himself from the control of the Regent Morton and the many annoying interferences of Elizabeth. But at the same time he had no mind to quarrel with the English queen for what he considered almost a lost cause and thus risk his own chances of the English succession.

Still the Pope did not give up all hopes of bringing round James to his side, and with this object he sent Esme Stuart,

Count d'Aubigny, nephew of the late Regent Lennox to Scotland. Esme soon became a great favourite of King James who made him the Earl of Lennox. Though he could not influence the king to change his religion, he became sufficiently powerful in the court to send Morton to the block. Elizabeth's early remonstrances with James to dismiss Lennox and her subsequent threats of war when Morton was executed were of no avail. But Lennox soon fell a prey to an internal revolution at the instance of the Protestant lords who were jealous of his influence and after the Raid of Ruthven (1582) which brought the king again in the hands of his Protestant lords, he was driven from power and the country.

Raid of
Ruthven,
1582.

While Lennox was thus striving hard to bring King James to the side of the Pope, the Jesuits were engaged on the continent to hatch a bigger plot against Elizabeth. Their main design was to organise an invasion of England through Scotland. Parsons, one of the Jesuits, who had escaped from England, now engaged himself in collecting men and money for this purpose. He was assisted by Holt and Chrichton who went over to Scotland and urged Lennox, then a great favourite of James, to demand the liberation of Mary failing which to invade England by way of retaliation. The scheme was further elaborated in Paris where, in a conference of the Jesuits headed by the Duke of Guise, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Allen of Douay, and the Papal Nuncio, it

The Jesuit
support to
Papal
project.

was arranged that Guise should lead an army of foreign mercenaries in the pay of the Pope as soon as the English Catholics rose in revolt or the breach between England and Scotland engineered by Lennox was complete.

The Popish plan, however, was soon upset by the Raid of Ruthven (*see ante*) which made the Protestant lords again supreme in Scotland.

While the Papal attack in England took merely the shape of a proselyting campaign by the seminary priests, and in Scotland it matured into a series of plots and conspiracies for the invasion of England, in Ireland, on the contrary, it burst into a dangerous national uprising. The Irish were already seething with political discontent and anarchy was rampant all over the country. The religious system of Elizabeth, though introduced in Ireland, did not produce any positive discontent as the Act of Uniformity had never been put into practice. But the Jesuits and other friends of the Pope so magnified the stories of Catholic oppression by the English in Ireland, and the alarm raised was so vehement, that Philip II. and the Pope himself at once determined to invade Ireland in the name of Catholicism. In 1571 Stukley, an English exile, was encouraged by the Pope to organise an expedition to Ireland; but his early death smashed the project. In 1579, a fresh attempt for the Papal conquest of Ireland was made under James Fitz Maurice, brother of the Earl of Desmond, who landed with a band of Spanish troops. Though he was able to take the fort of Smerwick, his success was

Papal
attack in
Ireland

marred by his death which followed immediately after. But the Irish trouble was not at an end. Subsequently the Earl of Desmond himself revolted and received substantial aid from the Pope, who supplied him with both money and men from Italy and Spain. But Desmond, failed to defend Smerwick, which was besieged and taken by Lord Grey de Wilton, the Lord Deputy of Ireland. The prisoners were mercilessly put to death and his very severity crushed the Irish revolt for a time. The Papal attempt thus likewise failed in Ireland.

Throckmorton's
conspiracy
to murder
Elizabeth,
1584.

Though these direct attacks of the Pope thus failed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, Elizabeth was never altogether secure from Catholic conspiracies. The first of these conspiracies was connected with the name of Francis Throckmorton, who, at first a Protestant, had lately come under the influence of the Catholic plotters of Paris. He was instigated by the Jesuits to devise a fresh conspiracy against Elizabeth for placing Mary on the throne. But before the conspiracy could be matured, it was detected by Walsingham, the ever-watchful secretary of the queen. Throckmorton was beheaded and the plot was crushed.

The object of Throckmorton plot was to place Mary on the throne by murdering Elizabeth. Though Mary was aware of this conspiracy, she was probably not a party to the project of the queen's murder; but on all hands it was admitted that she was the centre

of all such plots. Just as the Catholic resentment was running into fanaticism through the stress and strain of the Elizabethan persecutions, so their plots and conspiracies were creating a general panic throughout the country. The result was that a committee, known as the 'Bond of Association,' was formed by which its members pledged themselves to 'pursue to death all who sought the queen's life and those on whose behalf it was sought.' The Association soon had the support of Parliament and received its legal sanction. All Jesuits and Seminary priests were banished from the realm and any claimant to the succession who instigated subjects to rebellion was disqualified. Any attempt to hurt the queen's person was also made a disqualification for inheriting the crown after her.

'Bond of Association'
—its objects.

The Parliamentary threat or the resolution of the nation to drive conspiracy underground could not deter the Catholic fanatics from making another great attempt on the queen's life. In 1586 a plot was concocted by Anthony Babington and a band of young Catholics for murdering the queen and placing Mary on the throne. As usual, Mary was implicated in the plot, and was said to have approved of its object. This plot also did not escape the vigilance of Walsingham; and before any attack could be successfully attempted by its projectors, it was unmasked. Babington and his followers were put to death.

'Babington conspiracy'
1586.

Complicity
of Mary.

Mary's complicity in the Babington plot was thoroughly established by the confessions of

the principal plotters themselves and above all, by her own letters. The English ministers were unanimous in their determination to do away with the perpetual focus of disaffection' by sending Mary to the block. Elizabeth herself was eager enough to get rid of her, though she was not prepared to take the public odium for executing a sister queen. But the nation showed unwonted enthusiasm for the trial and execution of Mary, and Elizabeth had at last to bend before the force of public opinion.

Trial of
Mary Queen
of Scots.

The trial began on October 5, 1586 at Fortheringay before a court of 46 Commissioners. The proceedings were taken under the late Act of Parliament (*cf.* the confirmation of the Bond of Association) for conspiring against Elizabeth's life. Mary's protestation of innocence was of no avail. She, at last, had the boldness to confront her accusers and judges whose jurisdiction to try her she refused to admit. Indeed, there was some statutory difficulties in bringing her before an English court, as she was an independent sovereign, and as such, not subject to English jurisdiction. But as resident in England, though detained by force, she had, of course, owed temporary allegiance to the English queen, a conspiracy against whose life had brought her legally within the purview of the Act of 1585. The trial, therefore, was proceeded with, in spite of Mary's protests, and judgment against her was pronounced. Parliament readily confirmed the sentence of death and petitioned and pressed the queen for her immediate execution.

Death
sentence on
Mary
confirmed
by the
Parliament.

Elizabeth, as was usual with her, hesitated. She was alive to the grave political danger that might arise from Mary's death, particularly in the shape of an immediate war with Scotland, France, and Spain. So long as Mary lived and remained in her hands, she could easily play off these countries against one another whenever such a contingency appeared. At the same time, sparing of Mary would be an act suicidal to her own safety. At all events, "she did not wish to put Mary to death; but still more she did not wish to have the responsibility either of doing it or of refusing to do it." Hence she asked Parliament to find out some other device for her security short of Mary's death. But Parliament would find none. After being worried by her ministers continually for two months, the queen at last signed the death warrant of Mary, which was taken and forwarded to the Privy Council by Secretary Devison. The Council at once put the order into execution without further reference to Elizabeth, and Mary was beheaded in February, 1587. She died a Catholic martyr, leaving her whole heritage in the hands of the king of Spain.

Elizabeth's
delay about
execution
of Mary.

Mary
beheaded.
1587.

Elizabeth craftily proceeded to disavow all her connections with the execution, and threw the whole blame on her ministers. In vain she protested to the foreign ambassadors that the deed was done quite against her wishes and intention, and in vain she tried to vindicate her conduct by putting the unfortunate Devison into prison. But behind her protestations there

Elizabeth's
disavowal of
her part in
Mary's
execution.

was a forceful threat which she sent to King James and Henry III. of France that any hostile act on the part of the former would imperil his chances of English succession and on the part of the latter would deprive him of the English alliance and make him a puppet in the hands of the Guises and Spain. These two were, thus, easily silenced, but all chances of conciliation with Philip II. disappeared and the latter now began to prepare openly for a naval war with England, no longer with a view to the restoration of Catholicism in that country, but for its conquest in his own interest.

**Effect of
Mary's
Execution.**

Mary's death cut away the only interest on which the hopes of the Scotch and the English Catholics rested. It was contrary to their national instinct that they should carry on their contest simply to find themselves under the dominion of Spain. Catholicism, thus, after Mary's death proved a lost cause both in England and in Scotland. Mary's execution, however, had important political effects. As Froude tells us, "It determined Philip upon the undisguised pursuit of the English throne and it enlisted against him and his projects the passionate patriotism of the English nobility, who refused to be tempted, even by their creed, to betray the independence of their country. At once and once for ever it destroyed the hope that the Spanish Armada would find a party to welcome it. The entire Catholic organisation as directed against England was smitten with paralysis, and the queen found herself, when the invader arrived at last sup-

ported by the loyal enthusiasm of an undivided nation."

It is significant to note in this connection that Mary met the supreme test of death with a courage that was simply admirable. She was unfortunate as a woman, a mother and a sovereign. But still at the last moment when she was deserted by all, she did not forsake her own religion and faith. She thus died in no unworthy cause and was truly counted a martyr. In this respect she bears comparison with her grandson Charles I. If she had died for Roman Catholicism, Charles died for the Anglican church; and both did so as victims of the Divine Right of Kings. "Mary, like Charles I. called a church to her help. But she lost her life in her efforts to show that

Mary
a Catholic
martyr.

Her
execution
and that of
Charles I.—
a parallel.

The breath of wordly men cannot depose

The Deputy appointed by the Lord.

She anticipated his contentions, and Parliament in 1586 established a precedent for 1649." The scaffold of Fotheringay could thus be said to be the prelude to the scaffold of Whitehall.

CHAPTER IV.

Elizabeth and the Puritanic Movement.

Protestant
schism :
its origin.

For the origin of the Protestant schism in England we shall have to go back to the reign of Edward VI. When the reformers were busy establishing the new Anglican Church, differences soon began to arise between the moderate reformers who were proceeding very cautiously in effecting changes and the extremists who wanted to cast off at once all superstitious and Romish practices. Their creed subsequently gave them the name of the 'Puritan'. Such a difference, as we have noticed, had also marked and to some extent vitiated, the continental Protestantism where a new and powerful section had sprung up in the followers of John Calvin. They were eager to reduce Christianity to its apostolic simplicity by eradicating all forms of Popish idolatry some of which were still retained by the Lutheran Church (such as crucifixes, images, tapers and priestly vestments). In England the reformers represented by Cranmer, unwilling to follow either strictly, adopted a middle course between Luther and Calvin. In this respect the Anglican movement was started on a line independent from that of the continent. But one marked consequence of all these movements was that a general tendency was becoming more and more

evident unmistakably and everywhere to return to simpler forms in church matters.

Such was the position of the parties when Mary Tudor ascended the throne. The reaction that immediately followed drove many Protestants to the continent where they came into direct contact with the more extreme section of the Protestants. They were more heartily received by their Calvinistic brethren than by the Lutherans who had grown as narrow-minded and intolerent as any Catholic. The majority of the English and the Scotch refugees thus went directly into the folds of Calvinism, while only a few remained staunch to their established church. Their mutual relations, however, were strained to the utmost, leading after the Frankfort Controversy to an open breach between the party of Knox who represented the extremists and that of Cox who stood firmly by the side of his established church.

Division intensified at the accession of Mary Tudor.

When these controversies between the old and the new sects, for or against innovation were being carried on in the continent, news reached the Protestant refugees of Mary's death which at once recalled both parties to their country. But both came back with a hope that Elizabeth would do her utmost to fulfil their expectations. But never was their mortification so great as when they found that their sovereign had a policy of her own to follow. Not only did they find Elizabeth painfully dilatory in the matter of religious changes, but they also found that she leaned more to the

Parties at the accession of Elizabeth.

side of Catholicism than to Calvinism. At the very outset of her reign she had reproved a divine for preaching against the 'real presence'. She retained the crucifix herself and persisted up to her death in never legalising the marriage of the clergy. Such a reluctance on the part of the queen to effect changes in response to the sincere wishes of a strong section of her Protestant subjects was sure to give rise to a permanent division. There was thus a silent opposition smouldering against the queen's church policy, which was only kept from seriously flaming up by the more conciliatory attitude of her ministers.

Church
policy of
Elizabeth.

The situation then at the accession of Elizabeth stood thus: In matters of church policy she wanted to go back to Henry VIII, while in effecting actual religious changes she would not go as far even as Edward VI. But she was prepared to tolerate all, Catholics or Puritans, who would at least outwardly conform to her church. The shock of the Marian persecution had really terrified her subjects at first into a readiness to accept anything that Elizabeth had to give. But as soon as that shock was overcome and as England was peacefully settling down to Anglicanism, the Catholic and the Protestant extremists became active to establish their respective causes, the one to see an end of Protestantism in England and the other to purge it of its unholy Popish practices.

Catholic and
Protestant
Non-
conformists.

Elizabeth's religious policy was nothing, if not political. The conformity which she demanded of all parties was a necessity for the

unification of her people, though its proximate effect would be only to create an immediate dissent and opposition. But few people would submit to such a political necessity at the cost of their religious sentiments. Hence a reconciliation between a politic sovereign and her puritan subjects became next to impossibility. Elizabethan persecution of the Puritans. Elizabeth during the first eight years of her reign did not rigorously exact conformity and allowed irregularities to be practised by all sects. But her concessions had no effect ; it rather intensified the opposition. She was thus forced to determine upon enforcing uniformity of worship more rigidly than hitherto throughout her kingdom and Archbishop Parker was asked to take the initiative. He first set forth in his book called 'Advertisements' his orders and regulations for the discipline of the clergy. Advertisements. He next summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, the eminent non-conformists such as Sampson and Hamprey, the first of whom was unfrocked for refusing to wear the surplice. Extreme severity failed as concession Failure of persecution. had failed. Little as these could have scope in matters of human faith, sincere and earnest, severity had only the effect of irritating and driving the Puritans to greater and more determined opposition.

Parker's 'Advertisements' was the first general attempt to enforce uniformity as against the Puritans. The 'Plummer's Hall' case was the early instance of the Elizabethan zeal in such persecutions from which even the Catholics were for the time being exempt. In Plummer's Hall case.

1567 about one hundred Protestant dissenters had assembled in the Plummer's Hall for private worship under the pretence of a wedding. The party was seized and about fifteen of them imprisoned.

Cartwright
and the
Puritan
opposition.

After this event the Puritan opposition grew more vehement than it was at first. Up to 1570 their opposition centred round the general complaint about the retention of certain obnoxious practices, such as, the wearing of surplice and the square cap. When the Elizabethan persecution was started with characteristic zeal and animosity in order to shatter all opposition, the Puritans were also summoning up their utmost vigour and strength in their attack on the established church. The original controversy as regards the vestments thus first spread to rites and then to doctrine and church-government. The most active exponent of this new opposition was Thomas Cartwright, a young Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. While Oxford was still adhering to the orthodox religion, Cambridge became the centre of the new religious sect. As a leader of this sect Cartwright took up the cudgels for Puritanism and published the famous 'Admonition to Parliament' written by two clergymen of his sect named Wilcox and Field. The 'Admonition' adjured Parliament to reform the various abuses of the existing church and in fact, demanded its transformation into a presbytery in which there would be no prelacy or secular supremacy. For the time being the controversy was carried to such an extent that

Admonition
to
Parliament.

a Catholic minister exultingly wrote, "Such is the passion engendered that, one of these days, they will come to blows, which it is to be hoped that God will permit and that one set of heretics may confound the other, and all of them go to perdition."

The Protestant non-conformists had entered the House of Commons in good numbers owing to Elizabeth's policy of excluding all Catholics from it. In the first heat of the Puritanic opposition, when Parliament assembled in 1571, Strickland, an earnest Christian, led the attack by vehemently denouncing the abuses of the church and brought in a bill for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer. Another bill was also introduced by him for taking away the power of the Archbishop to grant licenses and dispensations. The object of all these measures was to strike at the root of prelacy which the Puritans characterised as the 'new papacy'. Puritanism
and
Parliament.

Strickland's bills could not be carried beyond the first reading as Elizabeth quashed all proceedings in that connection. The queen's interference, though it stopped the bills, could not diminish the ardour of her religious opponents. In the famous controversy between Parker and Peter Wentworth (the first exponent of civil liberty in Elizabeth's reign) the latter in asserting the right of private judgment bluntly pointed out that they were not prepared to take anything even from the Archbishop without due examination by themselves. "No ; by the faith I bear to God," he said, " we will pass Strickland
and
Elizabeth.

nothing before we understand what it is; for what were but to make you Popes. Make you Popes who list, for we will make you none”.

Parker's
repression
of the
Puritans.

Grindal's
attitude

Whitgift's
persecuting
policy.

When this contest, mainly literary, was thus being carried on in and outside Parliament, Parker was harassing the Puritan ministers, suppressing their books, silencing them in churches, and prosecuting them for their private meetings. In 1575 Parker died and was succeeded by Grindal. He was pro-Puritan and hence never gave his whole-hearted support to the repressive policy of his predecessor. When he became Archbishop, he was asked by the queen to put down the ‘prophesyings’ (i.e. the informal meetings of the Puritan clergy to train members of their sect and to discuss religious matters generally) which he strongly refused to do. For this he was suspended for five years. Grindal died broken-hearted and was succeeded by Whitgift, a declared foe of the Puritans and, ‘one of the gladiators’, as Hallam would call him, ‘of the theological controversy with Cartwright’. Within a few months of his appointment he adopted quite a fresh line of persecution surpassing in rigour all that Parker had done. He first promulgated a number of articles for the due observance of church-discipline, prohibiting all preaching, reading, or catechising in private houses, and requiring all ministers to subscribe to the queen's supremacy, the lawfulness of the Common Prayer, and the truth of the entire Thirty-nine Articles. Next, he proceeded through the agency of the Court of High Com-

mission to enforce all these injunctions. This court of ecclesiastical commission was now set up by the queen, consisting of fortyfour commissioners, "twelve of whom were bishops, many more Privy Councillors, and the rest clergymen or civilians", to try all offences against the church and all violations of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, with ample powers to enforce its orders on all recusants. Armed with such a weapon which may be called the English Inquisition, Whitgift now imposed the oath *ex officio* on clergy suspected of Puritanic leanings. This oath was the most rigorous measure of its kind employed against Puritanism. It required the party concerned to answer all questions put to him in the same way as in the auricular confession of the Catholic church. The procedure was not based on any legal conception ; rather it was contrary to the general maxim of the English law, *viz.* that no man was obliged to criminate himself.

The Court
of High
Commission.

Oath
ex-officio,—

The indignation that this oath aroused was very great. Burleigh advocated a more charitable course ; but both the Archbishop and the Queen were unrelenting. The result of such an unmitigated severity could easily be foreseen. The discontented party at once set up a Presbyterian system on the Scottish model. It was to be a government of synods and classes, the former being a sort of general assembly and the latter smaller associations held in shires or dioceses. 'The ministers composing them subscribed to the Puritan book of

Effect of the
persecution.

discipline.' Its organisers, among whom was Cartwright, were, however, promptly crushed with the help of the Courts of High Commission and Star Chamber.

The
Separatist
movement.

The failure of the attempt to set up a Presbytery in opposition to the Established Church could not check the rise of numerous sects, 'to vindicate the vigour of Protestant individualism.' These sects in the eye of law were composed of heretics and as such amenable to Mary's legislation which was not repealed by Elizabeth. The first execution, under the law of heresy of a Protestant non-conformist was that of a Flemish Anabaptist who was burnt in 1575. Another heretic, Matthew Hamond was burnt at Norwich in 1577; Francis Kett, a Cambridge graduate, was similarly burnt in 1589, while two clergymen, Coppin and Thacker, were hanged for attacking the royal supremacy. All these martyrdoms brought into existence a new ultra-violent movement among the Protestant non-conformists themselves, some of whom desired a separation from the church altogether. In 1575 an attempt to obtain legislative sanction for the transference of ecclesiastical authority from the crown to more democratic bodies failed through the queen's interference with the liberties of the House of Commons against which Wentworth fruitlessly protested. The leader of this new movement was Robert Browne who saw in Episcopacy a mere mask for the royal supremacy which was thoroughly absolute. 'It was a royal jurisdiction that the Bishops exercised:

Robert
Browne,
leader
of the
movement.

by the queen they were appointed ; by the queen they might, like Grindal, be sequestered if they claimed the slightest independence." The Brownists denied, as against Episcopacy, that the state or any assembly, of the clergy had any right to control the church which should really be composed of a large number of congregations each complete in itself. Their propaganda gave them the name of the 'Independents.' In order to check the spread of their views, Elizabeth passed in 1593 an Act punishing all persons above sixteen who would not conform within a month of its date of enforcement. Many Brownists rather than submit found an asylum in Holland whence they subsequently (about 1670) migrated to America.

Creed of the Brownists or the Independents.

The Elizabethan persecution was also responsible for the birth of a large mass of literature, libellous as well as serious. The most notable of the former was the tract written under the pseudonym of Martin Marprelate, and the most magnificent of the latter was Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.' The authors of 'Martin Marprelate Tracts' could not be ascertained with certainty, but suspicion fell on one John Penry and a certain Udal a Puritan minister. The writings themselves were "the most coarse, scurrilous, and indecent pasquinades" ever published against the episcopal system. The Tracts though they had injurious effects at the time they were published, were instances of how the printing press came to be

Puritan libel.

Martin Marprelate Tracts.

Hooker's
Ecclesiastical
Polity.

utilised for the free discussion of all questions of importance.

Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity' on the other hand, takes us quite away from the "scenes of pride and persecution on the one hand, and of sectarian insolence on the other" to the severe atmosphere of a pure impartial controversy. It was not a mere defence of the Church of England. In course of his arguments he examined the underlying principles of the Puritanic doctrines and effectively exposed the defects of an attempt to reduce everything under the absolute standard of the Scripture. There were laws immutable and laws variable, and it was the function of proper criticism to decide to which category the various texts of the Scripture belonged. Hooker in this way warned the Puritans not to push their credulity too far. With the Ecclesiastical Polity the first period in the history of the Puritanic contest was brought to a close.

CHAPTER V.

Elizabeth and Naval war with Spain.

The naval power of Spain dates as far back as 1492 when Columbus discovered America. It was no meaningless act of Pope Alexander VI., when he allocated the countries newly discovered to Spain and Portugal exclusively, for in fact he had only anticipated the Age of Spanish Monopoly. The conquest of Mexico by Cortes (1521) and of Peru by Pizarro (1526) added to the Spanish empire not only vast territories but also an inexhaustible source of wealth. Spain's connection with the New World thus made her a pioneer (along with Portugal) in European maritime, colonial, and commercial enterprises. The Spanish Navy which had developed in the course of a bare century was simply beyond comparison. Her ships were making daring and uninterrupted voyages to the West Indies bringing in treasures which made the wealth of Spain almost fabulous. Her fleet, which defeated the Turks at Lepanto and the French at Terceira, was considered invincible in Europe. When the annexation of Portugal was accomplished, Spain had no rivals to fear either in the old or the new world. Nor was Spain lacking in men who were examples of heroism on land and sea. A Santa Cruz or a Parma came by the natural order of things in Spain. On all directions, its

Spain as naval power in the 16th century.

power appeared unassailable when all on a sudden, it found a dangerous competitor in England.

First
English
seaman
in the New
World.

The new discoveries though beneficial to Spain and Portugal did not fail to inspire the other nations of Europe. In 1497 Sebastian Cabot followed the example of Columbus sailing as far as the Hudson's Bay. The Englishmen however were slow in following up their enterprises, and it was not till the early years of Elizabeth that they showed any kind of maritime activity worth the name.

English
Navy
before
Elizabeth.

England as a naval power had long ceased to exist. The memory that Englishmen were the descendants of the sea-pirates was long lost to them. "The long war with France had given another direction to the restless energy of the people, and the Wars of the Roses had absorbed it. The sea-faring interest had been neglected; commerce had languished; king's ships no longer existed, and when the Tudors came to the throne, in the naval as in all other departments of government, reconstruction or reorganisation was necessary." The situation was slightly improved by Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and English seamen were beginning to venture across the Atlantic. At first the voyages were undertaken in co-operation with Spain, of which England was an ally. The condition was reversed for the first time in the reign of Elizabeth. With her accession the friendly relations of the two peoples were coming to an end. The Spanish Monopoly was now boldly questioned and violated if not

Elizabeth
and the
Naval
enterprises.

openly, at least by successful smuggling and piracy. The voyages of Martin Frobisher and John Hawkins were attracting a vast number of Englishmen to the sea. Within four years of Elizabeth's accession, the channel swarmed with the 'Protestant Sea-dogs' of various nationalities, all combining to smash the monopoly of Spain.

The first act of English maritime aggression was in connection with the seizure of Spanish treasures which were being transmitted to Alva to pay his troops. It was meant as a reprisal for the alleged high-handed act of the Spanish Governor of Mexico who forcibly captured Hawkin's ships and merchandise off Vera Cruz, valued at £100,000 (1570). The capture of the British ships created a ferment in England and, besides the reprisal which they immediately took by seizing Alva's treasures, the English seamen with the full concurrence of their queen, fitted out another venture under Drake, a kinsman of Hawkins, with the sole object of retaliating for the losses they sustained in 1570. But Drake was only able to make an unsuccessful attack on Nombre de Dios. The Spanish Monopoly, however, was successfully invaded and the name of Drake became a terror to the Spaniards in the West Indies. While the English 'Sea-dogs' were thus boldly carrying on their piracy, "it was in vain that their vessels were seized, and the sailors flung into the dungeons of the inquisition, laden with irons, without sight of sun or moon." The profits of the trade were large enough to

Beginning
of English
maritime
aggression,
1570.

Hawkins
and the
English
reprisal.

Drake
and the
Spanish
Monopoly.

The
English
'Sea-dogs'.

counteract its perils ; and the bigotry of Philip was met by a bigotry as merciless as his own. The Puritanism of the sea-dogs went hand in hand with their love of adventure. To break through the Catholic monopoly of the New World, to kill Spaniards, to sell Negroes, to sack gold-ships, were in these men's minds a seemly work for 'the elect of God.' '* Religion, patriotism, and profits thus formed the kernel of their adventures. In an age when sovereignty and trade went together, it followed as a natural consequence that trade would accompany colonisation. About 1560 the greed for foreign dominion became remarkable in Englishmen 'who sought from afar a thousand kingdoms.' This was particularly due to Philip's prohibition of English trade in the Indies on pain of death. The Spanish policy thus became sauce to the English who made the counter-resolution to make an end of the Spanish dominion wherever practicable. The English of Elizabeth's reign who had thus suddenly developed a new and aggressive maritime energy were tacit instruments in the foundation of British trade and empire.

English
greed for
foreign
dominion.

Naval
enterprise
and Anglo-
Spanish
estrangement.

Besides other contributing causes which springing up in connection with the religious and political situation of Europe were pressing hard on Spain the necessity of the conquest of England, these English maritime enterprises were so aggravating the situation as to bring the two countries nearer

* Green, Vol. IV, Chapter IV.

to war. Soon after the English reprisals (*see ante*) which were more or less of the nature of private wars but which were of sufficient magnitude to evoke a protest from the Spanish Ambassador, another anti-Spanish expedition in the South Seas was taken in hand by Drake (1578). It was in this voyage that he was able to circumnavigate the globe. When in 1580 he came home laden with Spanish spoils by the way of Cape of Good Hope, he was received with open arms and knighthood by the queen. It was an honour not only unique in the case of a man who stood no higher than a pirate, but of a wider political significance. The English ventures, whatever their real character, had full sympathy of their sovereign whenever they proved successful. Fortunately Drake's return synchronised with the landing of the Papal volunteers in Ireland (*see ante*). The volunteers were mostly Spanish subjects and were commanded by Juan Martinez de Recalde, a Spanish officer of repute. Elizabeth at once seized the opportunity to hold up a pretence that she would take no steps against the English pirates unless Spain had first satisfied her in the matter of the invasion of Ireland. Discontent was thus increasing on both sides. The Spanish ambassador was giving out grim threats of a greater danger to England, and schemes of Spanish invasion were being secretly prepared by Santa Cruz. Meanwhile Drake's successful ventures led to many similar ones being attempted by others. For five years (1580-85) the two nations

Drake's
voyage
round the
world,
1578-80.

its
significance.

were continually engaged in meeting each other with highly provocative hostile acts on the one hand and vain diplomatic negotiations on the other. In 1585, Philip II. first laid an embargo on the English ships in the Spanish ports which was promptly answered by Elizabeth by laying a similar embargo on Spanish ships in the English ports. Elizabeth also drew closer to the Netherlands with which she now made a naval alliance against Spain. At the same time a joint venture was organised in which a commission was given to Drake to undertake a war of reprisals against the Spaniards in America and elsewhere.

Drake's
expedition
to West
Indies,
1584—85.

The new fleet of Drake consisted of over thirty vessels, two of which were contributed by the queen. Drake was the commander-in-chief with whom were associated Martin Frobisher, Christopher Carleill, Francis Knollys, and Richard Hawkins (son of John Hawkins). They set sail on Sept. 14, 1585, from Plymouth and "capturing, plundering, and destroying as they went, they rested for a while in Vigo river, sacked and burnt Santiago and Porto Praya in the Cape Verde Islands, gulled San Domingo, plundered Cartagena on the Spanish main and held it to ransom, burning all the ships and galleys which they could not take away; cruised for a month off Cape St. Antonio, threatened Havana; and passing up the coast of Florida, took, plundered and burnt St. Augustine, a town of 250 houses, not one of which was left standing." When the fleet after its depredations, returned in July, 1586,

the plunder, though small in comparison to previous ones, was estimated at £65,000. But the importance of the expedition lay not so much in the value of its plunder but in the destruction of the Spanish settlements and the heavy blow that it dealt to Spanish trade. In view of the impending war it was no small achievement on the part of the English. Their success could have but one effect. Philip was inevitably goaded into war. The long-talked-of invasion looked like materialising and both sides now engaged themselves to prepare for the coming mortal contest.

Three main difficulties had hitherto stood in the way of Philip in his projected invasion. First, the plan submitted by Santa Cruz and Don John of Austria was of too vast a magnitude to be undertaken even by a first-class power like Spain. Secondly, to find money for it was an absolute impossibility, in the face of its utter financial hollowness, due to speculation and extravagance. Thirdly, political considerations (*viz.*, whom Philip would fight for, either Mary Queen of Scots or himself,) long remained an impediment in his way. If he was to fight he must do it for Mary, and his success would necessarily strengthen the Guises in France and England, as against himself. This last difficulty was, happily for him, solved by the execution of Mary in 1587. The other two difficulties remained, one of which was partly solved by the promise of one million crowns from the Pope. At all events, preparations for the invasion were earnestly taken in

Importance
of the
expedition.

Invasion of
England :
The
Armada.

Preparations
of Spain
for the
invasion.

hand and rapidly pushed forward. It was arranged that the Spanish fleet would proceed from Lisbon where it had collected, to the Netherlands to take aboard the Duke of Parma with his forty thousand veterans and then force its way to England and conquer it in the name of Philip and Catholicism.

Elizabeth's
instructions
to Drake
and his
expedition
to Cadiz,
1587.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth did not remain idle. Though she was opposed to war and wavered many a time before taking a decisive step, she had early in 1587, issued instructions to Drake to attack the Spanish coast and to put all possible impediments in the way of the Spanish preparations. Drake's first object of assault was Cadiz which he successfully attacked, doing incalculable damage to the Spanish fleet—an operation which he characterised as 'singeing the king of Spain's beard.' "We sank," so went his report, "a Biscayan of 1200 tons, burnt a ship of 1500 tons belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and 31 ships more of from 1000 to 200 tons the piece, carried away with us four laden with provisions, and departed thence at our pleasure with as much honour as we could wish". Securing a base at Sagres which he next captured, he carried out his operations so successfully that not a single Spanish vessel dared to come out of its harbour or pass his way. Both Santa Cruz and the king were long undecided as to the proper course to take. In the meantime, Drake had proceeded to the Azores, captured a Spanish treasure-ship of immense value and returned to England on orders of the queen, who was still dreaming

Drake
in the
Azores.

of a peaceful settlement with Philip. She was, more anxious to make a show of her power than to goad him to extreme measures. Never was such indecision shown by a monarch whose kingdom lay at the mercy of a powerful invader. But as Beesly remarks, "Elizabeth is not seen at her best in war. She did not easily resign herself to its sacrifice. It frightened her to see the money which she had painfully put together by many a small economy, drawing out at the rate of £17,000 a month into the bottomless pit of military expenditure."

Elizabeth's indecision.

But her cares were of no avail. While she was grumbling over expenditure, the Duke of Parma was 'steadily carrying out his master's plans for the invasion.' The general scheme of the Armada had already been formulated. Ships, men, arms, ammunition, stores and provisions were now got together. Naturally these preparations and the destruction caused by Drake at Cadiz delayed the undertaking for a year, but it was determined that the Armada should sail early in 1588. The command of the fleet was given to Santa Cruz, the greatest of Spain's naval commanders, but he died in Jan. 1588. His place was taken by the Duke of Medina Sidonia who was innocent of naval warfare, and 'ignorant alike of the art of commanding men and of ordering a battle.' The Duke of Parma was appointed the commander-in-chief of the invasion, and final instructions were issued by Philip to his commanders before the Armada was ready to set sail.

Preparations of Spain, her ships and seamen.

The fame of the Armada and of the

Elizabeth's
preparations.

Lord
Howard of
Effingham
appointed
chief
commander.

National
awakening
in England.

Character
of the
Invincible
Armada.

enormous preparations of Philip were spreading throughout Europe. Elizabeth could least afford to remain idle any longer. The services of all the eminent seamen were engaged, the chief command of the English fleet being given to Lord Howard of Effingham, Drake holding the next place in command of the privateers. The queen's appeal to national patriotism was answered most significantly. "Instinct told England that its work was to be done at sea, and the royal fleet was soon lost among the vessels of volunteers." In the moment of national crisis, all religious differences were forgotten and Philip's fondest hopes, on which he mainly based his enterprise, of a Catholic rising in England was completely shattered. A great national army was also mustering under Leicester at Tilbury to oppose a possible landing under Parma. National resolution to do the utmost to defend the motherland was evident everywhere and never was enthusiasm greater than now. All sections were united and Catholics and Protestants setting aside their old quarrels and differences, stood side by side to save their country from the Spaniards.

The number of vessels comprising the Armada was one hundred and forty nine. They were large, lofty and imposing, more like transports than men-of-war. The guns they carried, considering their size and number were small and few, as if intended more for ornament than for use. The fighting capacity of these ships was immensely inferior to those of their opponents. They were suitable

for close hand-to-hand fight. Consequently the men they carried were more soldiers than sailors, numbering twenty thousand in troops and only eight thousand in seamen. The Armada in fact, was commanded by soldiers, the sailor's function being comparatively unimportant *viz.*, "to bring the soldiers to hand-grips with the enemy by grappling his ship and turning the decks into a field of battle, commanded by castles fore and aft." In rank, dignity and fighting importance, the sailor was subject to the soldier at sea. Their new commander Medina Sidonia was himself a soldier of repute, but with no experience of the sea. Such was the character of the Invincible Armada brought together by Philip to accomplish his long-cherished project of conquering England.

The English fleet on the other hand was quite differently constituted from the Spanish. The vessels numbered eighty in all with which ninety of the Dutch were associated; but in fighting capacity, equipment, and size, they were vastly superior to their rivals. They were fast and weatherly; their guns numerous and heavy; and their men genuine seamen and splendid gunners. Their commanders were the finest fighters upon the sea that England produced. In fact "Howard's force was the most formidable fleet that had ever sailed the sea; and its commanders had no doubt of their capacity to beat the Spaniards."

Superiority
of the
English
fleet
over the
Armada.

Drake had proposed to fight the Spanish fleet off their own coasts or in their own

THE
Fight:

Armada
and
English
fire ships
off Calais.

Battle of
Gravelines
and defeat
of the
Spaniards.

Flight
of the
Armada
and its
dispersal.

harbour as the surest way o' defeating it. But the wind was against him and twice he failed in his attempt to force a way. On July 19, 1588, the Armada was within sight of England. The wind now turned in favour of the English and they, instead of offering a direct attack, preferred to hang 'boldly on the rear of the great fleet as it moved along the channel.' They sank several Spanish galleons, but, in spite of his best efforts, Medina Sidonia was unable to close and grapple with his pursuers. He, therefore, apprehending delay hurried on to Calais where he anchored with a view to effect a junction with Parma as soon as practicable. The English, at the same time, were determined not to allow such a junction, and following up the Armada sent eight fireships to attack the Spaniards. "They succeeded where the fleet had failed: the Spaniards slipped their cables in a panic, and drifted in disorder off to Gravelines." It was now that Drake saw his opportunity and attacked the Spaniards in force. The battle continued for eight hours, during which the finest and the most decisive work was done by the English gunnery. "Huddled together by the wind and the deadly English fire, their sails torn, their masts shot away, the crowded galleons had become mere slaughter-houses." Though the number of the dead counted over 4,000, the Spaniards were cowed, and their commander was in despair, yet the Armada was not defeated. It was continuing its voyage of despair to meet Parma when a storm arose

and dispersed the entire fleet in the North Sea. Only fifty of the great fleet were able with the greatest difficulty to reach Spain by doubling the British Isles. The rest foundered and were either wrecked or captured.

The defeat of the Armada had momentous consequences in England and abroad. At home the long sense of insecurity was over, assuring to England a position of independence and honour in Europe. Though her success had not made England more powerful than Spain, yet it gave sufficient confidence in Englishmen and proof to others that they were quite capable of meeting the strongest power on earth. The naval supremacy of England was established and her colonial and commercial expansion became easy after this memorable victory. The Catholic terror which had hung like a cloud over the hopes of the English people now rolled away and English Protestantism became safe and secure. In fact, henceforward, the English nation appeared stronger, much more united, patriotic, enterprising and adventurous. A spirit of awakening pervaded the entire nation and bloomed forth in the domains of science, literature, art, and every other department of culture.

In Europe, it demonstrated once for all how hollow was the power of Spain which in fact now ceased to be dreaded in Europe. Though the Spanish power was not wrecked all at once the defeat of the Armada pointed to its inevitable doom. While England rose, Spain fell in the estimation of all. Its commercial and colo-

Defeat
of the
Armada :
its effects in
England.

its
effects in
Europe.

nial monopoly was falling to pieces. The dismemberment of the Spanish Empire was begun, and scarcely a generation passed before it was complete. England on the other hand came to be reckoned as one of the great European powers, and what Wolsey and Henry VIII. had struggled for was now finally achieved.

Continuance
of the war.

The defeat of the Armada, however, was but the beginning and not the end of the Spanish war. Elizabeth, if she was loth to begin the war, now at least showed a determination to prosecute it to a finish. Henceforward she became 'a convert to Drake's doctrine, that attack was the surest way of defence,' and her attitude towards Philip was considerably changed. She resolved to carry the war home to Philip by making another Netherlands of Portugal. In April, 1589, an expedition sailed under the joint command of Sir John Norris and Drake. The force consisted of 15,000 men and 50 ships, a much larger contingent than any that Elizabeth had ever sent to the Netherlands. But the very cupidity of its officers marred the success of the project. Their attempt to incite an internal revolution, to raise a certain Don Antonio to the Portuguese throne proved fruitless. A descent on Coruna, though successful at first, ultimately proved a failure. A similar attempt on Lisbon met the same fate. The expedition, though it inflicted great loss on Spain, ultimately returned home without effecting any of the objects with which it started.

Expedition
to Portugal,
and
its failure.

The Earl of Cumberland, in his privateer-

ing, proved a better success than Drake. "He seized Fayal in the Azores and held it to ransom, captured a number of prizes at sea and cut others out from under the Spanish guns; and maintained his position all the summer, narrowly missing the East and West Indian treasure." Hawkins and Frobisher were also after the same quarry, but did very little (1590). In 1591, another daring English seaman, Sir Richard Grenville, commander of the 'Revenge,' was attacked by fifteen Spanish men-of-war, but he fought with them for fifteen hours dying bravely. This was the first and last instance of the capture of an Elizabethan ship by Spain.

Cumberland's Expedition to the Azores, 1590.

Loss of the 'Revenge', 1591.

For the next five years Elizabeth proceeded rather cautiously. The active prosecutors of the war, *viz.* Leicester and Walsingham had died, the former in 1588 and the latter two years later. But their place was taken by the Earl of Essex, the rising leader of the war-party in England. In 1596, the war received a new turn by the capture of Calais by Philip, Elizabeth desirous of repeating 'Drake's soundest experiments in naval warfare,' proposed to paralyse Spain's activity by another decisive blow. The assault was meant against Cadiz, the Spanish arsenal, and the command of the venture was given to Howard and Essex (Drake having died in 1596) jointly with Raleigh as their lieutenant. The enterprise proved as successful as the first. Cadiz was found in a defenceless state, taken, and held to ransom. Afterwards it was burnt and abandoned.

Capture of Calais, 1596, by Spain.

Essex and the Cadiz expedition, 1596.

Capture of
Cadiz, the
last great
operation
in the
naval war
with Spain.

"The capture of Cadiz has been called the Trafalgar of Elizabeth's contest with Philip ; it was certainly the last great operation of the war." Philip tried another retaliation by preparing a Second Armada which, like the first, was dispersed by storm. Yet a Third Armada was gathered together to invade Ireland, but it shared no better fate. Philip could well console himself, as he did, when the news of the first Armada reached him, that he did not propose to 'fight the sea'. The Spanish fleet ever at the mercy of the winds and waves could achieve but very little against England. Before he died in 1598, Philip had realised that the conquest of England was a mere dream but that sooner or later Spain would have to grant "the English that share in the commerce of the New World for which they fought with such determination." At the time of his death, he was, however, able to detach France from the triple coalition of England, France, and the Netherlands by the Treaty of Vervins (1598), restoring Calais to Henry IV. (of France) who thus seceded from the struggle, leaving Elizabeth and the Netherlanders to carry on the Spanish war till the close of her reign.

BOOK III.

THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER I.

The Government of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's Privy Council had at first Elizabeth's Privy Council : its eighteen members, of whom seven were new personnel. men of her own choice and the rest, old members of Mary's Council. The personnel of the last government was, however, changed very little. Winchester held the High Treasurership, Clinton continued as Lord High Admiral and Arundel as Lord Steward ; while some important places were given to such new men as Sir Nicholas Bacon, William Cecil and Sir Francis Knollys who became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Secretary and the Vice-Chamberlain, respectively. The most important addition that was made subsequently was the promotion of Walsingham to the Secretaryship in place of Cecil when he became the Lord Treasurer. The composition of the Council, of course, underwent change from time to time owing to deaths, resignations or exclusions, but three of the councillors held their office till almost the end of Elizabeth's reign, *viz.*, Cecil, Bacon and Walsingham. The trio were remarkable men of their age and the most trusted servants of their Queen.

Her
principle
of selection
of Privy
Councillors.

One general principle that she always followed in the selection of her councillors was to exclude extremists of both parties from the council, so as to retain for herself the greatest weight in determining the issue of its deliberations." She was a representative Tudor and could never think of making her council anything more than an efficient advisory body. While thus retaining the largest power in her own hands, she had always the good sense to assist the council and when need was, to acquiesce in its decisions in order to secure the efficiency of her rule. It was a very happy coincidence that her ministers knew her and she knew her ministers. Consequently in her Privy Council general unanimity was the rule and disagreement the exception. Elizabeth, generally impervious to remonstrance, knew how to give way tactfully, and her servants knew when to remain silent and not incur the displeasure of their sovereign.

Despotic
character of
Elizabeth's
government.

The government of Elizabeth was thus pre-eminently the personal rule of a powerful monarch who was anxious to use her power for the good of her country and her people. This predominance of the sovereign was seen both in church and state. Indeed, never do we read in history of an absolute monarchy bent upon carrying out its unfettered will and at the same time winning the golden opinion and admiration of all. Elizabeth's rule, which was compared to that of the 'Grand Turk' with a bureaucratic council, was, in fact, the rule of a despot who disregarded laws, freely resorted

to letters-patent and proclamations, enslaved the Parliament, raised money by illegal methods, administered justice capriciously, used unsparingly her prerogative and unreservedly every kind of corruption to gain her ends. But Elizabeth's absolutism had a saving grace. "She valued popularity above all things and spared no pains to gain it." "Far above all earthly treasures," she said, "I esteem my people's love." And her sentiment was well reciprocated in the hearts of her people who bore the heavy yoke of her government gladly. "It was the potency of her complex personality that alone made possible a sovereignty like hers over a people alive with intellectual and physical energy. The paradoxical union in her of the extremes of masculine strength and feminine weakness fascinated a liberty-loving nation, and evoked an eager acquiescence in the bondage of an unlimited monarchy."

All political trials, particularly trials for treason, were conducted in a manner at once high-handed and unjust. These constituted, what Hallam calls, "some of those glaring transgressions of natural, as well as, positive law, that render our courts of justice in cases of treason little better than caverns for murders." The judge was hardly different from a prosecutor, and the jury always passive and weak. The utmost straining of law and evidence was made by the judge himself in order to secure a conviction. Stubbs, Penry, and Udal, all underwent trial of this sort in the ordinary courts of justice, besides many others who passed

Political
trials :

Courts of
Star
Chamber,
High
Commission
and
Courts-
martial
resorted to.

through still harder fates in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission which took cognisance of all offences against the church and the state. There were also special courts such as Courts-martial by which the Queen often suspended the operation of the common law. These were resorted to under exceptional circumstances, such as, a riot or a rebellion ; but Elizabeth did not even shrink from using these courts to satisfy her caprices often due to her hasty and arbitrary temper.

Illegal
commitments
and
arbitrary
detentions.

The power of arbitrary detention was never recognised by the English constitution since the days of the Magna Carta. "But no right of the subject, in his relation to the Crown, was preserved with greater difficulty." The sovereign and even the Privy Council always arrogated to themselves a power of discretionary imprisonment, which they never hesitated to exercise as frequently as they could. So flagrant were the abuses of the *Habeas Corpus* that even the Elizabethan judges, weak and submissive though they were, had ventured to submit a petition for the removal of this particular grievance. The petition had, however, no effect and found eternal repose in the archives of the state papers.

Illegal
Procla-
mations.

The extraordinary power of the sovereign to issue proclamation having the force of law was a very old and cherished privilege of the Crown. Not only was it claimed as necessary for supplementing legislation in order to modify the existing laws, but also as a "paramount supremacy called sometimes the king's absolute

or sovereign power which sanctioned commands beyond the legal prerogative, for the sake of public safety, whenever the council might judge that to be in hazard." New offences unknown to law were thus occasionally created by these proclamations. The most significant example of the use of this power was the issue of an ordinance to restrict the printing and selling of books (1585).

Ordinance to restrict printing and sale of books.

The chief aim of Elizabeth was 'to free England from foreign influence and from the dread of foreign intervention and to do it with as little risk as possible to herself.' To attain this end she, first of all, set herself to the task of maintaining perpetual peace within the country, to do away with the national discords about religion, to pave the way towards a true national unity and to reap the fruits of peace and unity in the moral and material advancement of the nation itself. The domestic policy of Elizabeth was thus marked by a devoted interest in the state affairs, her thrift and economy, and her cautious pursuit of the cause of peace and balance, in all matters of conflicting interests. We can readily distinguish her foreign from her domestic policy. The one was characterised by her shifting diplomacy, little appreciated or understood by the people at large who judged of it only by its success. The other brought home to all her love of peace, her instinct for order, the firmness and moderation of her government, the judicious spirit of conciliation and compromise among warring factions which gave the country an

Elizabeth's domestic policy.

Her foreign and domestic policy distinguished

Results of
her home
policy.

unexampled tranquillity at a time when almost every other country in Europe was torn with civil war. It was quite natural, then, that under the regime of such a Queen with aims at once precise and lofty, England should not only flourish in manufactures and commerce, the unique development of which was marked by the foundation of the Royal Exchange in London, but also in the growth of public confidence in her government directly leading to the birth of a spirit of intellectual vigour and maritime activity, such as in the annals of English history was never seen. She had an instinctive knowledge of the temper of the nation, which also found in her a natural leader. Her national leadership and her great popularity were the direct consequences of her home policy which she had the good sense of maintaining up to her death.

Marriage
question of
Elizabeth.

1. Proposal
from
Philip II.

The question of marriage attracted the attention of the Queen herself and her people from the very beginning of her reign. The first offer came from Philip II. who pressed his suit with some degree of importunity, as such an alliance was necessary for counterbalancing the allied powers of France and Scotland. The danger of such a marriage was too patent to Elizabeth. She had not the least desire to repeat the mistakes of her sister and make England the political scape-goat of Spain. At the same time she was equally conscious that such a marriage, even if effected with the Papal dispensation, would at once lay bare the question of her legitimacy and open the succession

to her rival, Mary Queen of Scots. She, therefore, judiciously, though quite courteously, declined to be Philip's wife (1559). Philip's friendship was still a necessity to her as the only bulwark against the combined forces of France and Scotland, and her polite refusal showed that she could least afford to offend him. Soon after this, Philip married Elizabeth of France, and though the English Queen was thus relieved of her anxiety in this respect, she was threatened with a more formidable union of France and Spain.

Disappointed at his own suit, Philip next proposed his cousin, the Archduke Charles of Austria. Elizabeth, as usual, sent an evasive answer mainly objecting to his religion and the project ultimately fell through. Then an offer came from the king of Sweden for his son Eric (1569); but the negotiations though protracted came to nothing, as Eric showed an extra-enthusiasm for the marriage. Similar was the fate of the suit of Arran whom the Scots had thrust upon her attention. Meanwhile a rumour was afloat that the Queen was looking forward to a marriage at home, and the person pointed out was Lord Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester and a court favourite of the Queen. Dudley was a married man, but his handsome features betrayed the Queen into a 'flirtation that seemed to portend personal crime and public disaster.' It was whispered that Elizabeth was only waiting for the death of Amy Robsart, Dudley's wife, whom her husband had arranged to poison to death. In 1560 the

2. Archduke Charles of Austria.

3. Eric the Crown Prince of Sweden.

4. Arran.

5. Dudley.

news of Amy's death, who was found with a broken neck at the foot of the staircase of her castle gave rise to a scandal very compromising for the Queen's reputation. It was afterwards found that Amy Robsart had either committed suicide or met an accidental death. But the tragedy had a wholesome effect, *viz.*, that it proved the impossibility of such a marriage even if it was contemplated. Dudley had only been a pleasant plaything to the Queen, "useful for flouting superior people." There was no doubt that the Queen loved him. But, as Froude tells us, it would be to "misread Elizabeth to suppose that her relations with him were other than those which could be technically called honourable."

Reasons
why
Elizabeth
would not
marry.

The diplomatic courtships of Elizabeth were also significantly notorious. That "her hand was a bait which might be dangled before the eyes of political aspirants" and used with conspicuous effect, was readily realised by her and acted upon when necessary, though the impossibility of her marriage appeared almost self-evident from the policy she was pursuing in church and state. It was impossible for her to choose a Catholic husband and at the same time maintain her church-system. A Protestant husband, she was well aware, would drive her people headlong into a civil war. Besides, she had her personal reasons for not marrying, probably from a consciousness that she would be unable to fulfil the conditions of child-birth. But this apparent impossibility of her marriage she had carefully hid from her court and

people, being, on the contrary "always ready to contemplate matrimony as an ideal possibility" and "convince the world that she would and could marry if the provocation was sufficient. To her and her people a husband would be a mere incumbrance without children; but for others her hand held a crown, and it was a diplomatic asset which she could not afford to neglect out of modest scruples."

Her first use of this 'diplomatic asset' was made in 1569. Spain was slowly being driven from friendship into enmity with England, and Elizabeth had to counterminè its schemes of Catholic aggression. In this subtle work her courtships were to play a leading part. In order to counteract the Spanish schemes, she entered into a marriage project with the Duke of Anjou—the favourite and second surviving son of Catharine de Medicis. She had another object in simulating affection for the French king's brother *viz.* to prevent the proposed marriage between Anjou and the Queen of Scots. Her courtship had the effect she desired. Not only France was estranged from Spain, but its natural sympathy towards Mary considerably cooled. As soon as it had served its purpose, Elizabeth shattered the project on the rock of religion and Anjou was prudent enough not to press his claims too much on the unwilling ears of the English Queen.

6. Her first diplomatic marriage-project with Duke of Anjou and its effects.

The second and the last diplomatic courtship of Elizabeth or 'the wooing of Anjou' as it is called, was not launched till 1572. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day consider-

7. Her second diplomatic marriage-scheme with Duke of Alencon-Anjou, and its results.

ably altered the political situation of Europe. Elizabeth was momentarily drawn towards Spain by her repulsion from France on account of its extreme Catholic policy. Meanwhile another religious war had broken out in France and Elizabeth allowed private aids to be rendered to the Huguenots of Rochelle. Another means that she adopted to embarrass the French government was the re-opening of the marriage negotiations with the Duke of Alencon and Anjou, the youngest brother of the French king. Early in 1572 Catharine de Medicis had substituted her youngest son Alencon as a suitor of Elizabeth in place of his disappointed elder brother. He was an empty-headed youth with no personal scruples about religion, and bent upon carrying his suit to a successful issue. Elizabeth, who of course knew her own mind, "perceived the possibilities of this amazing courtship, begun between a youth of eighteen and a maiden of thirty-nine and continued for more than a decade. It was the master-piece of her diplomacy." She had found in Alencon a very welcome suitor, in as much as he could be "used as a link to bind England with France against Spain or a bridle upon the French government's Catholic tendencies." The warmth of this courtship rose and fell according to the Queen's necessity, and such a necessity arose in 1578, when the Duke of Parma came to the Netherlands. For a time she encouraged Anjou in such a way that it gave her subjects serious alarm. "While Orange and Elizabeth saw only the

political weight of the marriage as a check upon Philip, the sterner Protestants in England saw in it a victory for Catholicism at home." Consequently opposition to this marriage which was very great was voiced by Stubbs in his famous 'Gaping Gulf.' The ambition of Anjou was shattered in the Netherlands (*Cf.* The French Fury), and it was not long before Elizabeth was able to repudiate him to the extreme delight of her people.

Henry VIII. by his will had given the throne first to Edward VI. and then to Mary and after her to Elizabeth, to descend subsequently to the line of his youngest sister Mary Brandon, the Dutchess of Suffolk.* The will which had the sanction of Parliament thus opened the succession to Catharine Grey, sister of Lady Jane Grey, to the exclusion of the descendants of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry VIII. Failing an heir of the body of Elizabeth, the succession was open to Mary Queen of Scots, by her natural hereditary right and to Catharine Grey and her heirs according to the testamentary arrangement of Henry VIII.

Succession question.

Henry VIII.'s will.

Unfortunately for herself, Catharine Grey had made a clandestine marriage with the Duke of Hertford, and thus incurred the extreme displeasure of the Queen. Not only did she find herself in prison, but her son was bastardised. The poor lady afterwards died of a broken heart. In Elizabeth's reign the

* *Vide Genealogical Tables.*

consent of the sovereign to royal marriages was not such an absolute necessity as to justify the very hard treatment Catharine was subjected to by the Queen.

Parliamentary address to Queen on the question of succession.

With regard to the question of succession the Queen was, however, in a nice fix. The people were anxious that she should marry and transmit the crown to her children. By this means only they could hope to avoid the horrors of a disputed succession. When it was seen that Elizabeth would not make any provision for her marriage, Parliament in 1563 came forward to address the Queen on the question of succession, praying, "by proclamation of certainty already provided, if any such be," (alluding to the will of Henry VIII.) "or else by limitations of certainty, if none be, to provide a most gracious remedy in this great necessity."† The Queen resolutely refused to commit herself in this matter, intimating at the same time her dislike of the Parliamentary address. But the precariousness of her life, on the safety of which depended the tranquillity of the state and the possibility of a Catholic succession, in Mary Stuart, made Parliament exert itself once more on this question. Some spoke of forcing the Queen to take a husband, others, of declaring a successor against her will. But all joined in complaining that she was proving a step-mother to her country by her attitude of indifference. Though Elizabeth

Her attitude of indifference.

It was not treason to marry without the sovereign's consent, as it was during 1536—1553.

† Hallam, Constitutional History.

again silenced Parliament with a rebuke, she had particular reasons for not declaring herself on the question of a successor. If she was to name anybody at all, she must name either Mary Queen of Scots or the Suffolks. She could not declare herself in favour of Mary, as it would not only lead to Protestant resentment, but also encourage her Catholic subjects to turn against her. The Suffolks she hated and apparently did not want, as she herself said in her death-bed not to have 'a rascal's son' on her seat.

The question of succession thus remained undecided till the last day of her death. By and by her people came to favour hereditary succession, and looked for their future king in Mary's Protestant son James. On no occasion the Queen had shewn that she disliked such an eventuality. On the other hand she is said to have spoken to Rosni, the minister of Henry IV., of the approaching union of the Scotch and English crowns. In her death-bed she only named James by signs, and her last injunction was faithfully carried out after her death.

Of the ministers of Elizabeth Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, stood pre-eminent. He was a typical "new man" of Tudor-making, as Pollard very aptly calls him. Born in the school of Thomas Cromwell and bred in that of Somerset, he devoted his whole energy to the establishment of national sovereignty on the ruins of feudal privileges. As an uncompromising enemy of mediæval franchises, he had

Elizabeth
declared
for James
on her
death-bed.

Elizabeth...
ministers :

Sir
William
Cecil.
(1521—1598).

to struggle hard against the combined efforts of the nobles to thwart him (*See ante*). He was too wary for his assailants and knew how to coerce or cajole them into submission or even to annihilation. With the foundation of the English national state, two names always remain associated *viz.* that of Elizabeth and her trusted minister Cecil.

Son of a Welshman, Cecil was born in 1520. His official career began under Henry VIII. He was appointed Secretary by the Protector Somerset, but was sent to the Tower on the latter's fall. Not a very stead-fast adherent to lost causes, Cecil had soon occasion to write an indictment against his fallen master. He was one of the signatories to the letters-patent which gave the crown to Lady Jane Grey, and was one of the very first to desert her cause when the tide of popular enthusiasm turned in favour of Mary. Though his official career was temporarily suspended during the latter's reign, he had won complete pardon by conforming to Catholicism. During this time he had attached himself to Princess Elizabeth. In many of his qualities he exactly resembled his royal patron. Both belonged to the same political school, and both were crafty in the extreme. Both entertained identical views about religion and never cared for it for its own sake. 'Caution' was the watchword of both, 'prevention' the crux of their policy, and 'aggression' their political passion.

But at the helm of administration first as Secretary and afterwards as Lord Treasurer,

Cecil to a great extent shaped the general Elizabeth's policy of Elizabeth during his forty years of policy office. He was the 'oracle' whom she would shaped by Cecil. always refer to. He was a true Protestant His aim. statesman whose sole aim was to secure for his sovereign the Protestant leadership of Europe. Though not very bold in his policy, he could sometimes strike swift and decisive blows. No sound principle characterised his policy, "no great conceptions sprang from his mind and no great heroism distinguished his conduct." But His he was a practical man of prudence, judgment character. and moderation with 'a keen scent for danger', which enabled him to steer successfully through the sea of Elizabethan troubles. For the deceit and dissimulation that he unscrupulously practised, the fault lay not so much in him, but in the age in which he flourished. But it can always be said to his credit that he "took no pensions from foreign courts as Wolsey did, and received no bribes from English suitors," and that his deceits were all practised in the interests of his Queen and his country.

Cecil was created Baron Burghley in 1571, no very fitting recognition for his great services. His last service to the state was the treaty with the Dutch by which he bound the two countries firmly together (1598). In the same year he died at the ripe old age of seventy-eight years. His only surviving son Sir Robert Cecil succeeded to his political offices. Like his father, Robert was cool, calculating and prudent, but His son, was less of a courtier. His great rival was the Sir Robert Earl of Essex, who had great influence at court. Cecil.

2. Sir
Nicholas
Bacon,
1509—1579.

Sir Nicholas Bacon was Cecil's brother-in-law, who on the accession of Elizabeth became the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. His legal acumen, as well as religious disposition were early recognised by Cranmer who recommended him for a clerkship in Henry VIII.'s reign. Like Cecil he had conformed to the Catholic faith during Mary's reign and held the post of Attorney, then the highest legal office in the State. During Elizabeth's reign, he always contributed steadfastness and dignity to Cecil's vacillating policy. He was a great believer in "*mediocria firma*," a safe middle course. Whenever Elizabeth wanted to argue out any case either with Parliament or any other learned body, she invariably employed Bacon for that purpose. None of her councilors were more serious and thoughtful than he, none more direct and constant and none more eloquent and learned. He was a man of taste and refinement and was fond of literary pursuits. His son, Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards the Lord Chancellor, inherited his father's literary qualities and became the father of the English prose style and modern scientific thought.

His son
Sir Francis
Bacon.

3. Sir
Francis
Walsingham
1530—1590.

Bred in the political school of Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham had forced his way up from a very low position to the Secretaryship in 1581. He was distinguished for his unimpeachable loyalty to the Queen. In shrewdness and diligence he was equal to Cecil, but in his capacity for judging the masses, he was certainly his superior. Walsingham was a born

leader of men. He was a great advocate of the anti-Marian and anti-Spanish policy. As ambassador in France, which office he held sometime before his promotion to the Secretaryship, Walsingham's business was to "reconcile the Huguenots with the French government and upon this reconciliation to base an Anglo-French alliance which might lead to a grand attack on Spain, to the liberation of the Netherlands, to the destruction of Spain's monopoly in the New World and to make Protestantism the dominant force in Europe." Into this movement he threw himself heart and soul. Alive to the perils of Protestantism and "ever dreading a blow, he was always eager to strike first ; and alive to the perils of peace he was blind to the dangers of war." His feverish war-policy was, of course, counterbalanced by the patience of Burghley and the cynical coolness of Elizabeth. As Secretary he followed no independent policy, but acted as a good detector of Catholic plots against the Queen's life. "Few men have ever shown more capacity and skill in obtaining political informationand he was the only one amongst her ministers who ever succeeded in forcing Elizabeth to act with decision." His services were scarcely rewarded by Elizabeth, as there was very little of a courtier about him. He died in debt in 1570.

Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, came of a very ambitious family. His grand-father was the notorious Edmund Dudley, who was one of the principal instruments of Henry VII.'s

Walsingham's
policy.

Elizabeth's
favourites :

1. The
Earl of
Leicester
1531—1588.

policy of extortion and who met his reward on the scaffold early in the reign of Henry VIII. His father John Dudley was the Earl of Northumberland, from whose extraordinary ambition sprang up all the difficulties about succession after Edward VI.'s death, bringing not only ruin on himself but disaster on his family also. Robert, his third son, though sentenced to death along with the rest of his brothers for taking up arms against Mary, finally received pardon from her and was even restored to her favour. On the accession of Elizabeth he became Master of the Horse and a great favourite of the Queen. His handsome features and courtly manners raised him much in the estimation of Elizabeth by whom he was created the Earl of 'Leicester in 1574. His intimacy with the Queen gave rise to much court-scandal, particularly in connection with his wife's death (*See ante*). The Queen, however, was so far from being foolishly in love with him that in 1564 she recommended him for the hand of Mary Queen of Scots. He was a man of infamous life and morals and his intrigues with Lady Sheffield and the Countess of Essex whom he afterwards married were simply discreditable.

His public
life.

In his public life he occupied a very high place. He was Chancellor of the Oxford University. As a political rival of Cecil, he associated himself with the Puritans of whom he was the leader. In 1585 Elizabeth gave him command of the expeditionary forces in the Netherlands; but he failed miserably in

the battle of Zutphen. In 1588 Leicester took the lieutenant-generalship of the national forces to resist the Spanish invasion. Soon after this crisis was over, he died of a 'continued' fever at the age of fifty-six.

Tall and remarkably handsome, he was always affable in manners. There is no doubt that his influence with the Queen was very great; but it was also not infrequent that he received very good snubbing from her. In spite of his faults mostly due to the age in which he lived, he possessed some good qualities which raised him in the Queen's favour. As a man of princely taste and deep religious feelings, he had no rival among the courtiers of Elizabeth. But "He kept Elizabeth's regard to the last because she believed in his fidelity and devotion."

Estimate of
Leicester.

Sir Christonher Hatton attracted the attention of the Queen by his elegant dancing. He was a student of law, but gave up his studies and became a courtier of Elizabeth who subsequently raised him to the Lord Chancellorship. In his new office he showed that he was a prudent and upright man, quite worthy of upholding the dignity with which he was invested. He ably discharged his duties and had much influence with the Queen.

2. Sir
Christopher
Hatton.

The name of Hatton is not much associated with the great public questions of the day. The Puritans only mentioned him as an enemy of the Gospel for the support he had lent to Whitgift in his anti-Puritanic measures. Of all

the Elizabethan courtiers he died unmarried in 1592.

3. Earl
of Essex
1566—1601.

Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, was a youth of twenty-one when he was introduced to the court of the Queen by his step-father, the Earl of Leicester. He was bold and daring and had early distinguished himself at the battle of Zutphen. In 1587 he was appointed Master of the Horse, destined to play the "role that the Earl of Leicester played in his relation to his sovereign". His handsome appearance had readily commended him to the Queen and after Leicester's death he was regarded by all his "undoubted successor in the Queen's good graces". His personal features so much fascinated the Queen that she would, though approaching the mature age of sixty years, often coquette with him as if she were still in her teens. Her favours made him fast outbid all his competitors and he came to be on such intimate terms with her as to have the audacity to upbraid the Queen herself. But Essex was not a man to be satisfied with simple favours. "His ideas and objects were entirely those of the new generation and had little in common with the policy which Elizabeth had hitherto pursued." Whether in the domain of politics as the leader of the opposition or in the court as the Queen's favourite, he always aspired to be the first man in the state. His chief rivals were Sir Walter Raleigh whom he called the knave and Charles Blount whom he called the fool. "Every fool must wear a favour" he contemp-

tuously said of Blount when he found him much in the Queen's graces and actually fought him a duel. He was thus ever at war with all the Queen's courtiers and all those whom he considered as his opponents.

His impetuosity and sense of personal importance thus foreboded a career of storm and strife. Young and impulsive to a high degree, he soon got tired of the sort of life he was leading in the Court and without the Queen's consent, joined the American expedition of Drake in 1587. This escapade was the first act of his disobedience to the Queen who sternly enjoined him to return on pain of "uttermost peril." In 1581 he obtained his much-coveted appointment to the command of the English force that was sent to help Henry IV. of France with whom he grew into terms of intimacy. His campaign, however, proved fruitless and he was recalled (1592). In 1596 he was associated with other English seamen in an expedition to Cadiz which was successfully carried out. Essex took a leading part in the battle, and to him was largely due the capture of that important naval base of Spain. He returned a popular hero after this victory.

Military
adventures
of Essex.

His love of adventure did not preclude him from engaging himself in political intrigues at home. Like Leicester he hated both Burghley, whom he called "the old fox" and his son, as he considered both of them as great obstacles in the path of his ambition. He was already 'the idol of the younger party' and the

Essex as
the leader
of the
opposition.

Failure of
Essex
in the
Azores
expedition
and its
results.

recognised "leader of the opposition against the Queen's official advisers and a centre of much concealed disaffection." But as a popular leader he had no generous policy to follow but his own self-aggrandisement. He was, however, able to embarrass Burghley by enlisting to his side the malcontents of his party such as Antony and Francis Bacon with whom he combined in a common cause to ruin the aged minister. The opposition seemed to carry everything before them. Elizabeth lent willing ears to his counsels, and for a time Essex and his party, the extremists of the Privy Council, controlled the foreign policy of England in opposition to Burghley, who had grown to be an active anti-war propagandist. His success at Cadiz enhanced his reputation and this so much emboldened him that he undertook another adventure to the Azores. His failure, at once, had its characteristic effect. The Queen, who always judged merit by success or implicit obedience, was offended at his failure and equally at his spirit of independence. She was also jealous of his growing popularity, which was further enhanced by his marriage with Walsingham's daughter, the widow of Sir Philip Sydney, but which proved to be a fatal cause of estrangement from the Queen. But the headstrong youth could little foresee the consequences of the Queen's displeasure. His irritable temper burst forth in open defiance of his sovereign and hostility to Burghley. The proposal of a peace between France and Spain (subsequently carried out at

Vervins in 1598) gave rise to a new crisis at home. Essex with his usual vehemence opposed Burghley's pacific policy, creating a storm in the council. The Queen took her minister's side and silenced the impertinence of her Earl by giving him 'a blow on his ears'.

This incident sealed the fate of Essex. Though it was followed by immediate reconciliation, and although his war-policy was ultimately adopted, he had lost all prestige in the court. In 1599 with the object of reviving his fortune he accepted the Lord Deputyship of Ireland, a political quagmire in which many had been engulfed and lost. Francis Bacon, his political mentor cynically predicted that "Ireland was his destiny." His prophecy came to be true. He failed utterly in Ireland and came back "only to stand his trial for disobedience to royal orders and neglect of duty." He was expelled from the court for misdemeanours and kept a close prisoner in his own house. Maddened by this indignity, he attempted to raise a revolt in his favour but failed ignominiously. He surrendered, was tried, condemned to death and executed on the 25th of February, 1601.

Essex as
Lord-
Deputy of
Ireland.

His
attempt to
revolt and
execution.

Essex "lived and failed as a soldier of fortune." But he was not without good qualities. "He was brave, chivalrous, impulsive, imperious sometimes with his equals, but generous to all his dependents and incapable of secret malice." Of all the Elizabethan courtiers he was the only one who became the idol of the people. Like his step-father he was

Estimate
of Essex.

the leader of the Puritan party. He was a patron of literature, and himself a good poet. What he lacked was common sense ; and his impulsive knight-errantry led to his ruin in the end.

CHAPTER II.

The Progress of Parliament.

The reign of Elizabeth constituted the last phase of the Tudor monarchy. England had passed through the absolute sway of three of the strongest kings of the New Monarchy—Edward IV. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. The rule of each of these kings rather prepared the way for future constitutional progress instead of materially helping it during their significant reigns. The Tudor policy of subordinating Parliament to its will in order to give a legal weight to all its arbitrary acts contained, as it were, the seeds of its own ruin. Had Parliament been not allowed to survive, the very tradition of a free constitution would have disappeared from England as it did in France. But when Parliament was kept up at least in form, it might have been for a time slavish and lifeless ; still, afterwards, in the reaction against tyranny, which was sure to follow, it offered a centre for the reviving energies of the people and guided the spirit of liberty to flow gently and naturally along its traditional channels.

Two things combined to revive the national spirit of Englishmen in the reign of Elizabeth viz., the new aristocracy and the new middle class. These two orders originating with the

Parliament under the New Monarchy.

Tudor policy as regards Parliament.

Revival of the national spirit under Elizabeth.

New Monarchy, had grown steadily in the bracing atmosphere of the Renaissance and the Reformation which were accompanied in England, unlike on the rest of Europe, by internal peace, national freedom, commercial enterprise and general prosperity of the country. To add to these, the national life of the people was permeated with a genuine desire for religious liberty, whence indeed sprang their ideas of political liberty which were ultimately to bear fruit in the Great Revolution of 1688.

Parliament
under
Edward VI.

The first retreat of the New Monarchy from the position of pure absolutism which it had reached under Henry VIII., was made during the weak rule of Edward VI. The statute, which at the close of Henry VIII.'s reign had given to royal proclamations the force of law, was repealed, and the laws by which the new felonies and treasons had been created and used with so terrible an effect by Cromwell were erased from the Statute Book.

Parliament
under
Mary.

Under Mary the growing independence of the two Houses became a little more marked. In spite of the repeated entreaties of the Queen, Parliament refused to make Philip joint-sovereign with her or to make him her successor after her death. Though Parliament gave its consent to the Bill of Reconciliation with the Church of Rome, yet it rejected the proposal made by the Queen for the restoration of the church lands to the clergy, and though Parliament gratified the Queen by reviving the Statute of Heretics against the

Protestants, it rejected a bill for the restoration of the jurisdiction of the bishops.

The great intellectual revival, the spirit of free-thinking and religion, and the great social progress and commercial prosperity which characterised the age of Elizabeth, infused into the nation at large, fresh vigour and a spirit of independence which made themselves felt in Parliament also. We have already seen the real character of her government. She inherited her father's haughtiness and love of power. She could not brook the slightest opposition, but her unbounded popularity, tact and good sense enabled her to conduct herself with the best of graces, wherever there was any likelihood of a conflict between herself and her Parliament. But the conflict which she avoided by her opportune and gracious concessions began at last in the reign of James I. and led on through a series of events to the Revolution of 1688.

The history of Elizabethan Parliaments is simple. She would call Parliament as rarely as possible. During the forty-five years of her rule, she held only ten Parliaments. This was the Tudor way. Her father held nine Parliaments in thirty-eight years, her brother two in six and a half years and her sister five in five years. The main function of these Parliaments was only to grant money when ordinary revenues of the Crown proved insufficient and to pass laws.

There was no fixed rule as to the duration of these Parliaments. So long as the sovereign

Parliament
under
Elizabeth.

Independ-
ence of
Parliament.

Parliament
rarely
summoned.

Duration of
Parliament.

was able to do without monetary grants, he would hardly think of calling a Parliament and when once called, he would continue its sessions till it had given all he asked or done all he wished it to do. Henry VIII.'s Reformation Parliament endured for nearly seven years and the fourth Parliament of Elizabeth lasted for nearly eleven. The long Parliaments of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had very important political results. "Not only did they educate the Commons to act together, but they familiarised the nation with the notion of Parliament as of a permanent entity, in which the sovereignty of the realm might be vested: it is difficult to think of sovereignty being vested in so fleeting an affair as a mediæval Parliament which exists for a month or two and disappears."*

Composition
of
Elizabeth's
Parliament.

The composition of the Elizabethan Parliament had also undergone great changes since the time of Henry VIII. The House of Lords consisted of spiritual and lay peers, of which the former considerably dwindled in number after the dissolution of the monasteries. In Elizabeth's reign their number became still less and the lay and spiritual peers composing the House of Lords numbered about seventy-six in all, of which fifty belonged to the former rank and twenty-six to the latter. There was very little independence of the Upper House as the Queen appointed all the spiritual peers and could create as many new lay peerages as she

House of
Lords, its
constitution
and
character.

* Maitland, Constitutional History, p. 250.

pleased. Consequently her power over its composition was very great.

The members of the House of Commons, on the other hand, increased in number. Originally two knights were ordinarily summoned from each of the thirty-nine shires, making a body of seventy-eight members. To these were added members from Wales who were called for the first time in 1322. Their number varied from time to time till 1535 when Wales received a permanent place in the English Parliament with privilege to return one member from each of its twelve shires. Besides the knights, about three hundred and seventy citizens and burgesses came from different cities and boroughs of England and Wales. From the time of Henry VI. the privilege of creating new Parliamentary boroughs was extensively used by sovereigns for political purposes. Elizabeth made the most unscrupulous use of this privilege by adding sixty members to her Parliament by creating thirty "rotten boroughs." The total strength of the House of Commons during her reign was thus ninety knights and three hundred and seventy burgesses, that is, four hundred and sixty in all. The members were, more or less, imbued with Puritan doctrines, and were not as submissive as Elizabeth would have liked. "Amongst them were many bold and active spirits, well-read in constitutional lore, who gradually organised an opposition to the despotism of the Crown and on several occasions successfully resisted all the efforts of the court party."

House of Commons, its composition and character.

Queen's
conflict
with
Parliament.

Elizabeth exercised all the arbitrary powers of an absolute monarch. Still the rise of a new nobility and the election of men of wealth and blood to represent the boroughs in the House of Commons made it everyday difficult for her to manage the Parliament. To avoid this difficulty Elizabeth, of course, freely resorted to the practice of packing the House by creating new boroughs and when that was not enough, she did not hesitate to revert to the policy of Edward VI., Henry VII. and Wolsey, of doing without Parliament as long as possible. But the exigencies of her rule and the wars with Spain compelled her to call Parliament again and again, which henceforth carried on a struggle with the Crown for the following rights:—

Privilege
of
Parliament
established.

Privilege of Parliament: In this reign the House of Commons succeeded in establishing what is known as the privilege of Parliament, viz., the right of protecting its members from all arrests during its sessions save by the permission of the House itself, and of punishing and expelling any member for offences committed within the House, and of determining all matters relating to elections.

Right to freedom of debate: Elizabeth ordered the imprisonment of certain members, for discussing subjects in Parliament which she had prohibited, such as, the settlement of succession, the reform of the Common Prayer etc. But in some cases Parliament protested and she recalled her orders; in others Parliament did not interfere and readily submitted to the sove-

reign's will. But while vacillating in its assertion of the rights of individual speakers, the House steadily claimed for itself the right to discuss three cardinal subjects the treatment of which had been regarded by every Tudor sovereign as lying exclusively within the competence of the Crown. These were—

Parliament
secures
the right
to discuss
freely
about—

Matters of State—The question of succession was frequently raised in Parliament in spite of prohibition by the Queen, and the Commons at last abandoned the subject only when the Queen softened her command to a mild request.

1. Matters
of state.

Matters of Church—From this reign the Puritans began to present bills in Parliament for the reform of the Common Prayer and other ceremonies of the church. But these bills were suppressed by the Crown. The most outspoken of the Puritans (Strickland, Wentworth etc.) were sent to the Tower and all bills for church reform were especially forbidden. In spite of these obstacles the effort for reform still continued and though crushed by the Crown and set aside by the Lords, ecclesiastical bills were presented in every Parliament.

2. Matters
of church.

Matters of Trade—These also were supposed to belong exclusively to the Crown. When the Commons complained of the extensive monopolies that had been granted by the Crown, they were at first rudely silenced as going beyond their province. But they persisted in their protest and when Elizabeth saw that the resistance was irrepressible, she yielded

3. Matters
of trade.

with a good grace and at a single stroke
cancelled every monopoly that she had granted.

CHAPTER III.

The Development of England: Social and Economic.

The Elizabethan peace and prosperity are the landmarks of its history. Not only did internal peace work in the direction of encouraging agriculture, trade, and industry within the realm, but it also vastly developed the spirit of boldness and enterprise in the people, leading to commercial and colonial expansion of an unprecedented character. The net result achieved during the whole course of forty-five years of Elizabeth's reign was that England grew in prosperity and wealth, rivalling even those of Spain. But the national prosperity of the Elizabethan England was not an unmixed blessing. Behind the opulence of wealthy land-owners and merchants, a large number of indigent poor were groaning under poverty and oppression. The growth of population, which had by far exceeded five million souls, had no doubt contributed to the extension and improvement of agriculture but with dark incidents in its history—the enclosures and evictions. Not only did the commons come to be enclosed, but eviction followed as a natural result of the land-owners' greed. A large body of men, thus thrown out of employment, began to congest the towns, becoming in the end vagabonds

General
character of
Socio-
Economic
Progress.

Population.

Improve-
ment in
agriculture.

Enclosures
and
evictions.

Unemploy-
ment and
poverty.

The Poor
Law of
Elizabeth
1601.

and robbers. The new industrial development brought no adequate relief. At first the State tried violent remedies, but they were of no avail. Neither stocks nor whips could scare away poverty from the poverty-stricken. During the last years of her reign the distress became acute owing to a series of bad harvests. The scarcity of employment became so great that it at once called for a more radical treatment. And "the result was a piece of legislation of the highest importance in the social and economic history of the country." The Elizabethan Poor Law, as it was called, acknowledged for the first time the principle of governmental responsibility to provide sustenance for that part of the nation which was unable to provide for itself. Hitherto the relief of the poor had not been recognised as proper function of the state. The church was their natural guardian and had made itself responsible for poor-relief, for which it was empowered to collect tithes, a part at least of which was distributed to the poor. Sometimes the clergy were much too liberal in their alms-giving and their indiscriminate charity had very unfortunate results. Edward III.'s Statute of Labourers forbade giving of alms, under colour of charity, to the able-bodied poor. Richard II. introduced a system of licensed beggars in order to exclude the sturdy ones. Henry VIII. was more rigorous in his measures against beggars of most all classes; by the Act of 1536 he reformed all cities, countries, towns and parishes

to maintain their aged and impotent poor and provided punishment for "valiant and sturdy beggars," the penalty prescribed being whipping for the first and hanging for the last offence. Elizabeth, at first resorted to her father's coercive measures. But the economic distress in her reign produced discontent and insecurity to such an extent that she was forced to change the traditional policy of the government. She based her Poor Law on two principles, *viz.* that relief should be found for the indigent poor and work for the able-bodied paupers and that each parish should provide, for its own poor, either alms or work. In every parish a body of overseers were appointed to administer the Poor Law. They were empowered to levy a rate on land which came to be known as the 'poor-rate'. Besides the work-house, provision was also made for houses of correction with a view to reclaim vagabonds and pauper children. The principles of Elizabethan Poor Law have never been abrogated and have been in fact the foundation of the modern Poor Law in England.

Side by side with the economic distress affecting men of the lower order, there grew up in wealth and luxury a large and important section of the people. *viz.* the middle class. This section was mainly composed of wealthy land-owners, traders, merchants and manufacturers. A general improvement in the standard of living had led to a revival of agriculture. "Not only was a larger capital brought to bear

General
prosperity
and wealth.

Revival of
agriculture.

upon land, but the mere change in the system of cultivation introduced a taste for new and better modes of farming ; the breed of horses and of cattle was improved, and a far greater use was made of manure and dressings." Agricultural production was almost doubled by these improved methods of cultivation which, with regular application of the rotation of crops, found employment for much of the surplus labour which the country abounded with, and thus helped in the success of the Poor Law.

Industrial
development
of England.

Woollen
manufacture.

Linen and
Silk-
weaving.

'Home-spun'
wool.

Mining
industries.

This growth of agriculture was accompanied by a remarkable growth of manufacture and trade. The industrial activity of the nation was seen in the development of the woollen manufacture which was rapidly spreading all over England. The persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands had not only driven a good many of their skilled artisans to England but caused their trade also to accompany them. The consequence was that "England no longer sent her fleeces to be woven in Flanders or to be dyed at Florence." Side by side with the woollen industry flourished the linen and silk weaving and the worsted trade. A noticeable feature of this growth of manufacture was that these industries rapidly spread from towns into the country. The cottage industry in "home-spun" wool was also becoming very general throughout England. Southern and Western England were the main seats of industry, as also busy mining centres. Iron goods from Kent and Sussex, tin and copper from

Cornwall, and broadcloths from the western counties formed the chief articles of English trade of which the great emporiums were the celebrated Cinque Ports.* Northern England was still industrially more backward than the southern and western districts. But its inaction was slowly being broken for the first time during Elizabeth's reign.

Chief
seats of
industry.

English commercial enterprise, however, far outstripped its industrial activity. England followed in the general wake of the century and eagerly took to the sea. New merchantmen were built and their total carrying capacity exceeded fifty thousand tons—a significant figure for these early days of commerce. In the early part of the sixteenth century, Antwerp and Bruges were the 'general marts of the world,' and the English foreign trade of wool and drapery was mainly confined to Flanders. The value of this trade was estimated at over two million pounds. With the industrial decline of the Netherlands owing to war with Spain and the subsequent ruin of Antwerp, its commercial supremacy was readily transferred to the shores of England. London came to occupy the place of Antwerp as the 'general mart of Europe' and became the chief distributing centre of goods coming from America and the East.

Commercial
activity.

London,—
its new
position.

The new position of London was fittingly inaugurated by the foundation of the Royal

* Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, Winchelsea and Hastings.

Royal
Exchange,
1566.

Exchange in 1566. Sir Thomas Gresham, the greatest financier of the age, was the originator of the scheme. He was also the financial agent to the Queen and had served her with conspicuous ability. He was a great financial innovator and the *boûrse* or exchange which he founded, and which was christened the Royal Exchange by the Queen, not only benefitted him and his fellow-merchants, but marked an epoch in the history of the economic development of England.

Restoration
of the
currency by
Elizabeth,
1560.

In connection with the foundation of the Royal Exchange we should direct our attention to the financial stability of England,—the brilliant handiwork of Elizabeth. At her accession she had found England almost in a state of financial bankruptcy. The currency* was debased. The accumulated government debt was enormous. The country possessed a low credit in the foreign money-market. The financial stress within England was also immense. Under these circumstances it was no easy task for Elizabeth to handle the financial problems with which she was confronted. But there was no mighty task which she ever carried through so efficiently. In 1560 she took a bold step in restoring the currency to its sterling value by calling in the old debased coins and issuing fresh good coins in their

* Besides the sovereign, the Elizabethan currency consisted of silver crowns, half-crowns, shillings, six-pences, groats, three-pences, two-pences, pennies, half-pennies and farthings. No copper money was coined under Queen Elizabeth.

place. The government loss was heavy. But she was able by this means to satisfy the public and to restore the credit of the Crown.

The restoration of public credit was accompanied by a rigid state economy, so much so that Elizabeth had to sustain the odium of being extremely stingy. But the mature judgment of history will now honourably acquit her of the charge. The ordinary revenues of her government amounted to about three million pounds a year. It was by her economy alone that she was able not only to meet all her ordinary expenses, but also to pay her predecessors' debts. She even accumulated a small reserve. It was only on extraordinary occasions that she applied for Parliamentary subsidies which were as eagerly granted as asked for. She would ask for no subsidy without good grounds and would go to the extent of remitting a portion of it when the need for it disappeared. She was always against levying heavy taxes on her people and would even sell crown-lands and jewels rather than take such a step. The heavy expenses due to Spanish wars upset her economy for a time and even forced her to resort to arbitrary methods of taxation, and there was much grumble over it. The old belief that the state expenditure being chiefly the sovereign's affair ought to be met from the hereditary income of the Crown still prevailed and much of the later discontent was due to this misconception. Moreover, there was at this time a feeling of national exasperation against the Queen for granting a

Elizabeth's
rigid
economy—
its results.

Monopolies
abandoned.

number of "monopolies" to her favourites. This was, indeed, a real grievance, which she gracefully removed by abandoning them at the request of Parliament.

Commercial
expansion.

The new commercial activity was not confined to Europe only. The English were always on the look-out for new outlets for the naval enthusiasm which characterised the age. Trade in all departments and in every clime engaged their attention. They controlled the fisheries of the English Channel, North and Irish Seas, extending their activities subsequently to Newfoundland Bay and the Polar Seas. The decline of the Hanseatic merchants led to the development of the English trade in the Baltic, followed by an active trade with Scandinavia and Russia. The growth of these external trades, stimulated by a love of maritime life and fed by dreams of new discoveries, wrought a significant change in the economic position of England. "The out-post of the old world became the *entrepôt* for the new." Speculation was rife amongst all classes. A number of commercial companies were started of which the Russian and the East Indian Companies were the most conspicuous. The political results that followed from the latter are too familiar to require a detailed narration.

Foundation
of the
Russian
and the
East
Indian
Companies.

Attempts
at new
discoveries
of trade-
routes.

Of the great attempts at discovery, the most notable was that of Hugh Willoughby who in conjunction with Richard Chancellor sailed in the reign of Mary to discover a northern passage to India. The former gave his life in

the attempt but the latter was more fortunate in pushing up to the White Sea and thereby creating the Russian trade. A trade in gold-dust and ivory had already sprung up with the coast of Guinea and Hawkins supplemented it by his ignoble trade in Negro slaves. But for good or evil, in all these naval and commercial enterprises alone lay England's true career. 'Her steady rise since the discovery of America,' was due first, to her peculiar geographical position, secondly, to the energy and enthusiasm of her people and lastly, to the healthy and effective encouragement of her sovereign. It was the Queen who persistently upheld the doctrine that the English commerce needed the protection of the English Navy. She it was who on good purpose refused to lend her ears to Spanish complaints against her seamen. In fact, the spirit of naval enterprise which dominated the nation had always a ready response and a firm support from the patriotic Queen and to that response and support must be ascribed England's success, glory and the Empire.

Causes of steady growth of English naval enterprise.

The rapid increase in wealth and prosperity under Elizabeth's careful rule had two characteristic effects. At home the new influx of wealth raised the standard of living amongst all classes, which even bordered on luxury. Abroad it led to national expansion through conquest and colonisation.

Rise in the general standard of living.

In the upper classes the lavishness of new wealth, along with high living, love of beauty, of colour and of display, produced

Dress.

a revolution in English dress. 'Men wore a manor on their back.' The Queen was the leader of fashion and herself possessed no less than three thousand gorgeous robes. Having no distinctive dress of their own, people wore a strange medley of costumes on all ceremonial occasions. Ruffs stiffened with starch and wire and lined with gems were used by both sexes.* Gowns, breeches, and doublets were padded. Cloaks of silk, velvet, or damask, with gold or silver 'embroideries and buttoned on the shoulder, were worn by gentlemen.

Standard
of comfort.

There was a general rise in the standard of comfort also. The consumption of meat instead of salt-fish, replacement of wattled farm-houses by brick and stone, the general introduction of chimneys, and the use of pillows and carpets marked the material culture of the age. Drunkenness affected society to its very foundation and large varieties of foreign wines were imported. China dishes and plates, and knives were for the first time introduced. Ruff and farthingale were the only popular luxuries, to which tobacco* was subsequently added, and its use became the mark of a sixteenth century gentleman. The dwelling-houses of the rich landlords and merchants were lofty and imposing with parapeted fronts and costly wainscotting, curved staircases and quaintly-figured gables.

The rage for architectural grandeur was

* Compare the portrait of Queen Elizabeth. (Frontispiece).

† Tobacco was first introduced by Raleigh in 1586.

much more in evidence amongst the nobles. Their fortified castles were transformed into magnificent double-storied palaces surrounded by picturesque Italian gardens. The new Elizabethan architecture was a mixture of Gothic and Classical styles, a few special features of which were seen in 'the fretted fronts, gilded, turrets, castellated gateways and jutting oriels.' The interior was equally magnificent; the grand staircase, the galleries surrounding the quiet courts and 'the rude hearth crowned with huge chimney-pieces, adorned with fauns and cupids', the tapestries, the antique chairs and costly cabinets, marked the refined taste of the age. The lavish use of glass was also carried to extremes. "You shall have sometimes," Lord Bacon is said to have grumbled, "your houses so full of glass that we can not tell where to come to be out of the sun or the cold."

Elizabethan
architecture.

Neither did England lag behind in the matter of national amusements. "The title of 'merrie England' was not a meaningless one in Elizabeth's time." The games and festivities were numerous. Of games, archery and bear-baiting were the principal. Of festivities "the Christmas, New Year's Day, Twelfth Night, Plough Monday, Candlemas, Shrove Tuesday, Easter, May Day and many others were celebrated with curious pageants and old traditional customs of merry-making." The historic pageants of Maid Marian, Morris Dancers, the show of the Hobbyhorse and the Dragon were seen in almost every district. Sunday was the

Country
festivals and
London
amusements.

The
fashionable
society.

day of games and social recreations. The fashionable life in London was to be seen in the 'dandy' who would "walk in one dress before dinner, and return in another after it, amaze the congregation with his perfumed embroidered purse," look into the book-seller's stalls, as if he were a literary man, visit the tobacconists, and attend the theatre in the evening. The theatre was inadequately housed and only a portion of it, the boxes, and the stage were covered. Tickets of admission were sold at prices varying from a penny to a shilling. There were no woman-actors and female parts were played by boys.

The
Theatres.

Spirit of
expansion.

The other characteristic effect of the growth of commerce and increased prosperity was the growing aspiration in Englishmen for territorial expansion by conquest or colonisation. The practical aspect of this new spirit was entangled with the commercial rivalry with Spain (See *ante*). The English people wanted markets for their goods and markets in those days could not be had unless it was conquered from Spain or established by colonisation. Many schemes of colonisation were afloat but the first successful venture was made by Sir Walter Raleigh who colonised Virginia in 1584. He even penetrated to the Isthmus of Darien, but was stopped by Elizabeth whose displeasure he had incurred by marrying one of her maids-of-honour, Elizabeth Throgmorton. "In 1595 he made an expedition to Guiana in search of El Dorado, the fabled land of gold." Though his cupidity and piracy ultimately

Sir Walter
Raleigh,
and
colonisation.

brought about his ruin in the reign of James I., his genius lived in the steady growth of English colonies which culminated a century later in the foundation of the American Empire.

CHAPTER IV.

The Conquest of Ireland.

Ireland
under the
early
Tudors.

Ireland has been the 'perpetual political riddle to England. In the sixteenth century, it had been no less a political enigma than what it has proved ever since. To the Tudors it was a burden and a "nuisance which had to be borne, lest France or Spain should make it a greater nuisance." Walsingham in his moods of despondency wished that it were at the bottom of the sea. Ever since its conquest by Norman knights, Ireland had never known peace nor good government, nor had its conquerors ever attempted to give it anything of the kind. "The responsibility for the peace and welfare of the subjects, which the Tudors accepted in England, was repudiated across St. George's Channel." To them the Irish were more like enemies than subjects. The Tudor administration, based on hatred, thus turned out to be an abject tyranny in Ireland. Ireland appealed to them more as a land to be colonised, a market to be exploited, and an enemy to be reduced.

Tudor
attitude
towards
Ireland.

Irish policy
of the
Tudors.

The charge of imprudent conduct against England in the governance of Ireland would be wholly unjust if we do not consider the fact that Ireland was a veritable *terra incognita* during greater part of the sixteenth century. While the European peoples were being

awakened by the progressive spirit of the age, the people of Ireland were living a wild and nomadic life bereft of every culture and refinement. The wave of the Renaissance went past its shores, but never touched it. Politically Ireland was hopelessly divided and in religion it had lost all its noble traditions and almost verged on heathenism. These drawbacks in their national character became every day visible in their internecine wars from which the country suffered and in the habitual brigandage and slothfulness of its people. Ireland in fact was never capable of ruling itself, nor did it ever admit of being ruled by others. Moreover, for the maintenance of peace and good government, money was required, but money could not be had from Ireland. England would scarcely allow herself to be taxed to provide good government for Ireland. At the same time, predominance in Ireland was a political necessity in order to keep away England's enemies, and in this, particularly, lay the justification of her notorious Irish policy.

Though the English dominion over Ireland was established above four centuries, its authority had hitherto been only nominal. The country was being ruled by its native chiefs who were virtually the kings of the country. The Irish did not acknowledge any law outside the limits of their tribal customs. Things had gone on tolerably well till Henry VIII.'s breach with Rome over the question of his divorce. Ireland at once became the vital point of the papal attack on England. Pope Paul III. re-

Ireland
in the
days of
Henry VIII.

voked the donation of the country made by a predecessor of his, Adrian IV., centuries ago, to Henry II. Henry VIII. at once supplemented his hereditary title by an act passed in the Dublin Parliament (1541) conferring on him and his heirs the title of the king of Ireland. This act was the "first step towards what was called the '*recovery*' of Ireland." The Irish policy was changed and the habitual inaction of the government was transformed into a determined activity for its final subjugation and settlement. 'Sober ways, politic drifts and amiable persuasions' seemed to have solved the Irish problems during Henry's rule. The nobles and chiefs all readily submitted to him, receiving from him feudal ranks and titles, and for a moment the Irish question was set at rest.

Effects
of Henry's
Irish policy.

But to succeed in Ireland did not lie in the good fortune of the Tudor monarchs. Henry VIII. was indeed successful in his dealings with individuals ; but he could not change the system. The O'Donnells and O'Neills were apparently satisfied with their new proprietary rights of land, (which they had not before), recently granted by their sovereign. But it directly disturbed the whole social fabric of Ireland which was based on service and not on land. Election of chiefs and not hereditary succession was the ingrained custom that characterised the Irish system. "Henry did not see or seeing he thought he could disregard the difference between a feudal baron and the chief of a clan." His mistake was fatal. The chief might come and go, but nothing short of ex-

tirpation could put an end to the clan. Henry's policy could have but one effect, *viz.*, "to open still wider the door for domestic intrigue within the circle of the clan itself " The mischief that his policy was calculated to bring about stood too unpleasantly revealed in the next three reigns.

The Papal claim of sovereignty in Ireland was no idle menace. The church had fallen to a bad state and the country felt the extreme necessity of a religious revival. The circumstances in Ireland were thus most opportu-
Papal activity in Ireland.
nity for missionary enterprise of every description. The racial hatred of England and the need for reform both combined to prepare the field for the Counter-Reformation. The Papacy too was not slow to take advantage of the situation ; and though its first attempt to reconvert the Irish failed, its vigorous renewal in the reign of Elizabeth was fraught with the important consequences it had so long desired to bring about.

Ireland was tranquil up to the death of Henry VIII. But his policy of smothering the Irish bore fruit immediately on the accession of his son. Brian O'Connor and Gilpatrick O'More, chiefs of two important clans, rose in rebellion apparently for withholding from them the feudal privileges that were extended to other chiefs, but really as a protest against the arbitrary methods of government. Division in the camp weakened the revolt and it was easily suppressed. Leix and Offaly were laid waste and the policy of systematic plantation
Edward VI. and Ireland.

Queen Mary
and the
policy of
systematic
plantations.

of English colonists so long in project was for the first time effectively carried out by the orders of Queen Mary. This plantation involved the re-plantation of the Irish ; thus this policy of extreme aggression which the later Tudors carried to its refinement could only heighten the national hatred of the Irish and plunge the whole country into revolt.

O'Neills and
their clan :
the
succession
dispute.

Elizabeth had no distinct policy to follow in Ireland besides those already in vogue. The policy of her father had begun to bear fruits and in none were his mistakes so typically exemplified as in the succession disputes of the O'Neills, the most powerful of the Irish chiefs, for the Earldom of Tyrone. The O'Neills, we have seen, had acknowledged the supremacy of Henry VIII, by becoming his feudal vassal. The difference it created did not appear till Con O'Neill the first donee died. While the government would recognise only the hereditary succession, the clan or sept refused to recognise the English law which went directly against their own custom. Moreover, the sept contended that the chief was only a nominee of theirs and had no power to surrender their land to the king and to receive it back as his vassal. The dispute was already brewing between the clan and the chief himself, and the former at once asserted their rights when the succession opened after his death. Matthew, the eldest son of Con was illegitimate, but was acknowledged by the English government as heir to the earldom, while Shane O'Neill a younger

legitimate son* was chosen as their chief by the sept. Shane had already made himself too powerful and had befriended the O'Donnells and the Scots. The Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, made a fruitless attempt to suppress him and was himself defeated in a battle. Negotiation with him led to his visit to the Queen in England before whom he made submission of his claims. He was too dangerous a man to be trifled with, and Elizabeth took the prudent course of conciliating him by assigning to him the earldom during his life, subject to a reversion in favour of Hugh O'Neill, the son of Matthew.

Shane, however, had grown too turbulent to be contented with what he had got. Ever since his return from England he had been behaving as if he were the real sovereign in Ireland. Sussex in vain tried to entrap or poison him. Shane continued his depredations unabated, invaded Connaught and defied the council at Dublin. "But defiance broke idly against the skill and vigour of Sir Henry Sidney, who succeeded Sussex as Lord Deputy." He was able to produce a defection in his camp and particularly to detach the O'Donnells from him. Shane invaded the country of the latter, but was routed, and subsequently lost his life in a drunken brawl (1567).

Rebellion of
Shane
O'Neill.

Sidney's victory was followed by peace for the next ten years. Shane's ruin had the effect

* See Cambridge Modern History Vol. III., p. 589.

Jesuits in
Ireland.

Desmond's
rebellion.

Plantation of
Munster.

at least, of falsifying the Irish hopes of organising a national uprising against England. But the clannish barriers, which they could not demolish themselves, were being slowly broken down by the pressure of the English despotism, supplemented by the renewed missionary activity of the Jesuits (1561). "By spreading religion among the clans they weakened the tribal hostility and developed a national consciousness; thus they co-operated with the English oppression to produce an Ireland united against the government." Early in 1567 Sidney, proud of his success against Shane, had alienated the Desmonds of Munster, another of the powerful Irish chiefs. Of them the Earl himself and his brother James Fitz Maurice were most prominent. The latter had come under the influence of Father Wolfe, one of the Pope's emissaries in Ireland, and by far the most dangerous man to deal with. On the arrest of his brother, Fitz Maurice raised the standard of revolt, invoking foreign aid to his support. The Desmond revolt has already been noticed in connection with the Papal warfare in Ireland (*See ante*). As soon as the rebellion was quelled, Elizabeth reverted to the time-honoured policy of plantation, as a remedy for the Irish disorders. Munster was practically depopulated and its lands were distributed to the English colonists. The Plantation of Munster as it was called, rather aggravated than solved the Irish difficulties. "Our pretence," wrote Sir William Herbert, one of the leading Englishmen who undertook

this colonisation, "in the enterprise of plantation was to establish in these parts, piety, justice, inhabitation and civility, with comfort and good example to the parts adjacent. Our drift now is, being here possessed of land, extort, make the state of things turbulent and live by prey and pay." The plantation which purported to secure peace, thus turned out to be the source of a perfect reign of terror. The consequence was a fresh and vigorous attempt to free Ireland from English control. The tribes of Ulster again united, as they had done under Shane, under his nephew Hugh O'Neill who was created the Earl of Tyrone for his early loyalty. But once secure in his position, he gradually unmasked himself and by 1595 he stood in open defiance of the government.

The Irish question once again became the chief concern of the Queen. Tyrone, who was now supported by Spain, had defeated an English army and his success spread the Irish rebellion throughout Northern Ireland (1599). Elizabeth entrusted the Earl of Essex with the task of suppression of Tyrone, but he failed miserably, on account of his vanity and perversity. When his successor, Lord Mountjoy arrived in Ireland, he found his authority obeyed only within a few miles of Dublin. Though he proved himself a man of great ability, he took full three years to complete the conquest. The ruthlessness with which he chastised the Irish remains unsurpassed in the annals of their history. "A famine which followed on his ravages, completed the devast-

Tyrone rebellion.

Completion of the conquest of Ireland by Mountjoy.

ing work of the sword." Tyrone was captured, Desmond who had again revolted took refuge in Spain, and the conquest of Ireland was thus finally achieved.

Results
of the
conquest.

"Ireland was conquered, as she had never been conquered before." It cost Elizabeth enormously both in money and men. It had proved the grave of many great reputations, of both warriors and politicians. But the conquest which was achieved at so great a cost and sacrifice, could not still solve the Irish problems. "Ferocious as were the methods employed, it was not the conquest itself so much as the use to which it was put that planted roots of future bitterness and seeds of lasting strife. England spent millions to settle English landlords in Ireland only in the end to spend more millions in order to buy them out ; and in its efforts to extirpate Irish septs it created an Irish nation."

CHAPTER V.

Later Foreign Relations.

The Raid of Ruthven (*See ante*) had re-
moved James from the Catholic influence. Of
his two favourites, Lennox fled to France and
Arran was taken prisoner by the Earl of
Gowrie, one of the leading raiders. The
Scottish government passed into the hands of
a new council with Gowrie at its head, who
ruled the state for the next ten months. But
James was too wary to remain long under the
tutelage of his Protestant nobles. In 1583 he
escaped, effected a junction with Arran and
re-established his authority. Gowrie was ex-
ecuted, the chief Protestant lords were banished,
and the supremacy of the king in all matters
of state and church was confirmed by an act
of Parliament.

In the meantime, while James was thus
engaged in re-establishing his power, a series
of intrigues was going on between the English
and the Scottish courts. Elizabeth had no
personal liking for Arran, and consequently
the negotiations for mutual good understand-
ing became unduly protracted. In 1585
Wotton went to Scotland and won over James
by the promise of a pension of five thousand
pounds a year. A mutual league between

Scotch
affairs
1582-1601.

Anglo-
Scottish
agreement,
1585:

England and Scotland against the Catholics called "bond anent the true religion" was finally agreed to by a Convention of Estates and ratified by James.

The new alliance marked the turning-point in the life of James and in the history of Scotland. He had to choose between France and England, Catholicism and Protestantism. By accepting the latter he had not only abandoned his mother and the Catholic cause, but had assured his own succession to the English throne after Elizabeth.

Policy of
James.

During the crisis of the Spanish Armada James vacillated a good deal between the prospects of a Spanish and an English alliance. He finally decided in favour of the latter and made elaborate preparations for the defence of his kingdom in case of a Spanish attack. After the danger was over, he again took a more conciliatory attitude towards the Catholics. But this he did, not to antagonise Elizabeth, but to satisfy the Catholics in Scotland and England, so that his succession might find no opposition from that quarter. The last four years of his reign in Scotland were occupied in bringing the turbulent Scottish nobility under control and in securing his position as the heir of Elizabeth. When Elizabeth died in 1603, everyone turned to him as the legitimate sovereign of England.

Position of
Henry IV.
at his
accession.

The accession of Henry of Bourbon to the French throne was an event of signal importance in European history. His right to the throne was perfectly clear, undisputed and un-

doubted.* But within France itself Calvinistic faith was looked upon as a disqualification and he had to encounter a solid opposition from the Catholic League. (See *ante*). Insecure at home he found also a determined enemy in Philip II., to whom the need for crushing Henry appeared no less imperative than the crushing of Elizabeth. Philip's predominance in the League gave him in fact a larger hand in French affairs than what Henry actually got himself. He had no allies at first, and among the possible ones, "Elizabeth was cautious and chary, the United Provinces were embarrassed and exhausted, the German princes disorganised, divided, and, for the most part, poor." In spite of all these difficulties with which he was surrounded, Henry's statemanship and bravery won for him the laurels of victory. He held out hopes of his absolution and thus bound the moderate Catholics (*cf.* the Politiques) to his side. His victory at Ivry over the League enabled him to besiege Paris again (1590). Paris became the turning-point in the struggle, and Philip tried his utmost to foil his antagonist at all costs. Parma was sent from the Netherlands to help the Leaguers and Henry was obliged to raise the siege.

Henry IV.
and the
Catholic
League.

Meanwhile England, still engaged in harassing Spain, had been watching with apprehension its triumphs against Henry. In 1591 Elizabeth pressed Henry IV. to check the advances of Philip who was carrying on opera-

Elizabeth's
assistance to
Henry IV.

* See Genealogical Tables.

tions in Brittany with the aim of securing it for future operations against England. Henry besieged Rouen and Elizabeth sent money and men to his aid. But here also Philip had the benefit of Parma's generalship to baffle the efforts of both Henry and Elizabeth.

Conversion
of Henry IV.

Elizabeth's
French
policy.

Luckily for Henry IV, "the day was fast going against the Leaguers." The puppet Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, whom they wanted to raise to the throne died, leaving no competitor against Henry. Philip's own eagerness as well as the scheme of the Leaguers to put Infanta Isabella, daughter of Philip by Elizabeth of France, on the throne, opened once again the eyes of the French. All sections now drew closer to Henry and pressed him for his reconciliation to the Romish church to which he ultimately agreed. In 1593 he declared himself a Catholic and his conversion sounded the death-knell of the League. It was a singular triumph not only of Henry himself, but of the national party in France which once again rose to its former power and glory. Against a united France Philip was powerless, while he was helpless against England with France as her ally. Elizabeth though outwardly expressing her surprise at Henry's change of faith, was heartily contented that he was bold enough to take such a decisive course for the safety of France. She realised at least that with the rise of France another attempt on the part of Philip to send an Armada to England or an army to Ireland would be an utter impossibility. As Green puts it "all danger from Spain was over

with the revival of France.....The fear of foreign conquest passed away.....What remained was the Protestantism, the national union, the lofty patriotism, the pride of England and the might of Englishmen, which had drawn life more vivid and intense than they had ever known before from the long battle with the Papacy and with Spain."

Henry IV.'s achievements evoked general admiration. He raised France from anarchy and disorder to the zenith of her power. When he came to the throne, "he had found her distracted, impoverished, desolated, impotent. He left her united, prosperous, peaceful, flourishing, powerful." His highest qualities were best seen in his statesmanship. Always tactful and ready to make timely concession, he achieved his ends more by diplomacy than by his victories. The solution of religious problems at a single stroke was the masterpiece of his statecraft. Like Elizabeth, whom he proudly called his "other self", he never allowed himself to stumble on religion which he always subordinated to policy. He was a great believer in the justice of his cause and never swerved from his purpose.

Personally he was amiable, buoyant and kindly. Never affected in his manners, always affable and sympathetic, he won the hearts of men and inspired them with confidence. As a soldier he was brave and dashing, intrepid and clear-sighted. As an administrator, though he retained the absolute government which he had inherited, he was able to temper it with

Henry IV.
statesman-
ship.

An estimate
of
Henry IV.

improved administration in all departments. In his reign "we see French absolutism at its best."

Comparison
between
Henry IV.
and
Elizabeth.

An estimate of his character brings out a very close resemblance between Henry IV. and Elizabeth. In general policy both had similar aims ; in diplomacy and administrative ability they were equals. But the latter sometimes found in Henry more than a match. Henry knew that he was a necessary ally to England and that Elizabeth could never risk losing his friendship. He was thus often able to extract money and men from the English Queen and use them, not as she would wish them to be used, but according to his own requirements and caprice. In the tug-of-war of diplomacy, Elizabeth was successively foiled by her clever ally in her attempts to obtain Brest and regain Calais. Even the peace of Vervins, which was a direct challenge on the Anglo-French alliance, did not prove a sufficient provocation to Elizabeth who was unwilling to add to her enemies. The success of Henry IV.'s diplomacy was thus more due to the peculiar position of England than to the want of skill in her sovereign to use effectively her art of dissimulation in which she excelled.

CHAPTER VI.

The Elizabethan Age of Literature.

The unprecedented outburst of literary activity in the reign of Elizabeth was in the main unconnected with politics and had come as if in the ordinary fitness of things with the general development of the country. The awakening sense of nationality had already found expression in the material and moral growth of the people and though literature had not early accompanied it to the same extent as others, it came none too late blooming in full maturity and rivaling in beauty and grandeur the literary ages that had gone before or come after it. The spirit of the nation, which, in its youthful vigour, had shone out in the domains of patriotism, religion, industry, commerce and enterprises of all kinds was seen only in the dimmest light of glory, so long as it did not unfold itself in literature. But the literary temper of the nation, its vitality and vivacity, its breadth of views and catholicity of taste could scarcely remain hidden, after the nation had emerged free and strong out of the greatest danger it had to face—the Spanish War. "From the moment when the Armada drifted back broken to Ferrol, the figures of warriors and statesmen were dwarfed by the grander figures of poets and philosophers." Prose and poetry alike overflowed the national

Elizabethan literature its growth and achievements.

veins and flooded the country. Rich in ideas, soaring in imagination, and aspiring beyond measure, the Elizabethan writers ennobled everything they touched carrying the literature they produced to its very zenith. The latest fruit of the Renaissance, the English literature of the Elizabethan age, had surpassed all its earlier examples and remains unsurpassed still. It is with no mere pardonable exaggeration that we call it the Golden Age and the Augustan Age of England's history which still warbles to us the notes it sang when it first became 'the nest of singing birds'.

Year of the
literary
outburst,
1579.

If it is possible to point out a specific date when this literature began, we cannot select a year better than 1579, the year which also saw the beginning of the English maritime activity. But it is not to be supposed that there was any connection between the national expansion and national literature. It would be futile, if not unworthy, to attempt to find out the cause of this literary activity which not only came late, but also came surprisingly sudden. If "literature is concerned with the expression of individual thought" we can little wonder if it suddenly bursts forth in its very exuberance. But before it could do so, it required to be full; and Elizabethan literature came in its very fulness and hence in its unrivalled sublimity.

Influences
at work :

(a) increase
of learning ;

The influences that were at work shaping the literary temper of the nation were many and various. The classical learning had begun, though it had ill begun, in the England of Elizabeth. The grammar schools that were

springing up brought the middle class into contact with Greece and Rome. The classical writers told upon England at large, when they were popularised by a crowd of translations, amongst which Chapman's 'Homer' stood high above the rest. The love of travel and the frequent tours of the Elizabethan noblemen and squires produced many Italianate Englishmen whose passion for the literature of Italy brought to light Fairfax's version of 'Tasso' and Harrington's version of 'Ariosto'. With the foundation of new colleges at Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin academic learning also made rapid progress. Added to these we have the general awakening of the age characterised by its ever-increasing restlessness and curiosity. "The sphere of human interest was widened by the discoveries of Columbus, no less by the discoveries of Kepler and Galileo or still by the opening of the sea-routes to the East which brought Europe into contact with the infinite number of races of mankind, the variety of their laws, their customs, their religions, their very instincts." The wider knowledge of the world led to a wider study of man, making humanity the centre of human interest. Its noblest offsprings, Bacon's Essays and Shakespeare's Dramas, are echoing still the fervour they felt about the world and man.

(b) increased popularity of classical writings ;

(c) increased taste for travel in foreign countries ;

(d) progress of academic education ;

(e) general awakening of Europe ;

(f) widening of the sphere of human interest.

Historical literature was the first to break the long lethargy of the English mind. To it was attached a new interest, and it came out in a completely different shape. History passed "on its revival under Elizabeth from the

Historical writers :

1. Parker.

2. Daniel.

3. Raleigh.

4. Knolles.

5. Holinshed

6. Stow.

7. Camden.

Geogra-
phical

writers :

1. Hakluyt.

Euphuistic
School.

1. Lyly.

mediæval form of pure narrative to the modern form of an investigation and reconstruction of the past." Parker's collection of historical manuscripts of early annals which he had rescued from the wreck of the monastic libraries, opened the field for many earnest antiquarians. The first literary presentation of history was made by Daniel, who, though inaccurate, wrote his "History of England" in a pure, and graceful prose. Raleigh and Knolles in writing their 'History of the World' and 'History of the Turks' respectively, followed in the footsteps of Daniel. Other less graceful, though important historical treatises were Holinshed's 'Chronicles' Stow's 'Survey of London' and Camden's 'History of Elizabeth's reign.' If History was widely cultivated, its hand-maid Geography was not entirely passed by. Camden in his 'Britannia' gave an antiquarian geography of Britain. Hakluyt's 'Navigations' and his account of the 'Voyages' though not properly geographical treatises were the store-house of varied information about the British maritime adventures of the sixteenth century.

The pedantic form of prose found place in the Elizabethan literature in the works of John Lyly and those belonging to his Euphuistic school. His 'Eupheus' was a singular book 'modelled on the decadence of Italian prose' and notorious for its pedantry and affectation which had made its "love-story" a very "dull story." It provoked a fitting caricature at the hands of Shakespeare who, in Armado (Love's Labour Lost), a representative Euphuist, found

"a man of fire-new words, fashion's own knight," "that hath a mint of phrases in his brain; one whom the music of his own vain tongue doth ravish like enchanting harmony." But despite his extravagant conceits Lyly paved the way for the sober and more brilliant style of Sidney by awakening the natural sense of beauty and delight which lay hidden in his affectations and absurdities. For a time, however, Euphuism ruled the day, the Queen herself being described as one of the most magnificent and the most detestable of Euphuists.

The man who first "sought to humanise the rudeness of English prose" was Roger Ascham Sober School. whose 'Toxophilus' was published in 1545 and 'Schoolmaster' in 1570. The works themselves were very pleasant reading and did invaluable service "as a kind of go-cart to habituate the infant limbs of prose English to orderly movement." 1. Roger Ascham.

But thorough purification of England from the prevailing Euphuism was the work of Sir Philip Sidney, the hero of Zutphen and one of the most accomplished cavaliers of Europe. His two immortal works were the 'Arcadia' and the 'Apology for Poetry'. The former, a pastoral work of rare beauty, was absolutely untouched by affection but was full of stirring incidents and "constant purple patches of poetical description and expression." The latter, a more spirited work, was written in vindication of poetry against the attacks of the Puritans. 2. Sir Philip Sidney.

The beginning of the light and popular

The
Novelists :

1. Greene.
2. Nash.

prose literature is, however, seen in the Novels which were written in imitation of their Italian prototype. The novelettes of Greene and Nash practically flooded the market and were very eagerly read by the people. The writings of Nash were exceptionally brilliant and were the first to capture the popular taste.

Serious
Prose
Writings :
1. Hooker.

The most serious works of prose came later. Of these Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity' (the only treatise on politics in the Elizabethan literature) was not only written in magnificent style but was noted for its golden moderation and judicious arguments. No Elizabethan writer had shown such profound art, as did Hooker, of mixing the useful with the agreeable.

2. Francis
Bacon.

But the serious and at the same time philosophic prose found expression in Bacon's writings. "Francis Bacon was beginning his literary career when Hooker was laying down his pen". He preferred to write his great philosophical works in Latin, the first of which the 'Novum Organum,' was not completed till 1621. But the works by which he is known to-day are his 'Essays' and the 'Advancement of Learning'. The latter, his chief philosophical work in English, is written in melodious prose characterised by pithiness and terseness. His 'Essays' are notable triumphs of the aphoristic style. "His subtle reflections on human nature are largely founded on Machiavelli's practical interpretation of life, and owe something also to Montaigne."

The permanent value of Bacon's writings is to be found in the decisive influence that it had

exerted on the development of modern science. He was the first to proclaim the Philosophy of Science setting forth clearly the claims of inductive reasoning against the antiquated methods of metaphysical speculation. He struck at the roots of scholastic and theological disputations by insisting on "the unity of knowledge and enquiry throughout the physical world." But the grandest feature of Bacon's work was his noble confession of human liability to error in every department of knowledge. His political ideals did not indeed raise him above those of the age he lived in. Though he was a persistent advocate of reforms in all matters relating to the church and state in England and Ireland, he was content still to be led by his sovereign. Distinct political aims he had none, though his writings were full of pregnant remarks on government.

Of critical prose, besides Bacon's *Essays*, 3. Putten-
Puttenham's "Art of Poesie", published anony- ham.
mously in 1589, was significant. "Its author tries to mediate between pendency and barbarism, to show how the English language may be enriched without being encumbered."

But the grandest achievement of the age is Poetical
to be seen not in its Prose, but in its Poetry Literature.
and her ever-fascinating sister, the Drama.
The Elizabethan poetry, like prose, began with the metrical imitation of Italian poems that have left such characteristic marks on the English verse. The English sonnets are typical examples of this influence which spread to such Sonnets.
an extent in Elizabeth's reign that sonnettering

almost became the "literary epidemic." But imitation, though universal in prose and poetry, was unable to drive out the originality of feeling and temper which characterised every Elizabethan writer.

Blank-verse. "Poetry as a melodious and enriched expression of a man's own feeling" first blossomed in the writings of Wyatt and Surrey. To the first belongs the honour of introducing the 'sonnet,' while the second has the credit of being the first writer of the 'blank verse.' The cycle of blank verse in English literature has a romance of history about it. Taking its birth in the verses of Surrey it passed on into the hands of the dramatists; Marlowe perfected its rhyme and Shakespeare broke its monotony and gave it grace; it returned from Drama to Poetry in the loftier flights of Milton's imagination.

1. Wyatt.
2. Surrey.
3. Sidney.

The poetic literature thus begun by Wyatt and Surrey was continued in the more graceful hands of Sidney and Spenser. Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, though it mainly narrates the story of his own love, is a product of great beauty and merit, heralding a new epoch of English poetry. His sonnets too and his songs are full of sweet fancies, ever-green in their imagery and always unlocking the sincere outpourings of the poet's own heart. He himself has said—

'Biting my truant pen, beating myself for a spite,
Fool, said my Muse to me, look in thy heart and write'.

4. Spenser. A friend of Sidney, Spenser was the first to forsake the foreign metres, though in his

'Shepherd's Calendar', he adopted the pastoral form of Theocritus and Virgil. "The peculiar melody and profuse imagination which the pastoral disclosed, at once placed its author in the fore-front of living poets." But his greater work was still to come. He had gone to Ireland as Lord Grey's Secretary where he had "enrolled himself among the colonists to whom England was looking at the time for the regeneration of Munster." Raleigh found him always idle, but musing "among the coolly shades of the green alders of the Mulla's shore". Spenser did not keep the world long waiting for his musings. The 'Faerie Queen' which saw the light in 1590 at once struck a supreme note of English poetry. Intended mainly as an allegory, the poet's mark is soon lost in the dreamland of his poetry. The wealth of imagery and the melody of diction of the 'Faerie Queen' together with the happy and vivid presentation of the picture of the society of the day, its virgin queen and her chivalrous knights, its religious upheaval and its material grandeur, all combined to make it the greatest epic of Elizabethan England. Spenser's world was a "world of lofty enterprise and high endeavour, of ceaseless labour and conflict for a great end," such as England had in view in the Elizabethan era. As a poet of the civilisation of his own time, Spenser's popularity was unbounded. But not only was he the poet of the people, but was also the "poet's poet" for the succeeding generations. There were none among the English poets coming after

him who did not draw inspirations from the perennial fountain of Spenser.

Evolution
of the
English
Drama.

"If Faerie Queen" expressed the higher elements of the Elizabethan age, the whole of that age, its lower elements and higher alike was expressed in the English drama." The beginning was already laid in the wider interest that the age was taking in man and everything of man. The poetic impulse that had permeated the England of Spenser now took everywhere a dramatic shape. The origin of the drama is certainly complex and it must have come from many sources—Miracle plays, Mysteries, Moralities, Pageants, Masks, Interludes and Histories. But the English Drama, whatever might have been its real origin, was very intimately connected with the temper of the nation itself which again was fervently dramatic. Stage representations became the craze of the day and the palace vied with the inns and the universities as well as many humbler efforts for the reproduction of plays. "Every progress of Elizabeth from shire to shire was a succession of shows and interludes. Dian with her nymphs met the Queen as she returned from hunting; love presented her with his golden arrow as she passed through the gates of Norwich." Not only did the nation thus grow wild about stage-plays, dramatic taste itself was undergoing the change of the times. Mysteries had long been replaced by Moralities and both came to be replaced now by Tragedies and Comedies. Public Stage came to the fore, the first theatre being

Drama
and the
Stage.

built at Blackfriars by the "Earl of Leicester's servants."* The construction of stage and auditorium, however, was of the roughest sort while the scenes were often simple and unpretentious. The female parts were played by boys and this partly explains the 'undignified words that so commonly fell from woman's lips which otherwise would have been too gross. But rude as the theatre was, the Drama was universally popular. The stage throbbed with the pulse of the people. It was thronged with nobles and courtiers, citizens and mobs and each and all "felt the vigorous life, the rapid transitions, the passionate energy, the reality, the life-like medley and confusion, the racy dialogue, the chat, the wit, the pathos, the sublimity, the rant and buffoonery, the coarse horrors and vulgar blood-sheddings" that characterised Elizabethan plays. The popular origin of the Drama was never better demonstrated than on the stage; and no stage was there 'as the Elizabethan which was ever so human.

The earliest Elizabethan comedy Gammer Gurton's 'Needle' was a farcical representation of a "tempest in a tea-pot" over an old woman's needle. Sackville's 'Gorboduc' represented the tragical development of the English play. It was, however, not until 1586 that popular excitement over Drama was aroused. The first popular dramatist was

The
earliest
dramatists :
1. Gammer
Gurton.
2. Sackville.

* Altogether eighteen theatres came into existence during the whole course of Elizabeth's reign.

Christopher Marlowe, who was followed in rapid succession by Greene, Peele, Nash and Shakespeare. The first four had received sound academic training, while the last was, but an 'untutored child of Nature'.

3. Marlowe. "A few daring jests, a brawl, and a fatal stab make up the life of Marlowe"; but he was the creator of English tragedy. His 'Tamberlain' indicated the revolt "against the timid inanities of Euphuism," but struck the grander notes of the coming drama. 'Edward II. paved the way of the historical dramas of Shakespeare, and his 'Faustus', though riotous and extravagant, was forcible, passionate and romantic.

4. Greene. If Marlowe was the creator of tragedy, Greene was the originator of the modern comedy. Greene lived an equally riotous life, but unlike Marlowe's, his pen was pure. His 'History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay' is a very graceful and prettily handled love story, and is counted by many as his master-piece.

5. Shakespeare. In William Shakespeare the Elizabethan Drama was developed over again. Everything finest in Greene and Marlowe received its final elevation in his hands and turned golden. A rustic upstart, as Greene called him, no one perceived that so much genius lay in a mere actor-apprentice. Born in Stratford-on-Avon, (1564) poverty early drove him to London and the stage. During the days of his earlier connection with the stage he was engaged in adapting and re-writing plays. It was not till he had served out his long period of apprentice-

ship that he attempted to write an original play. His first drama was 'Love's Labour Lost' (1590) and in it one could trace the hand of a beginner. But behind its trivial witticisms, "there shone out the dramatic and poetic fire, the humorous outlook of life, the insight into human feeling which were to inspire titanic achievement in the future."

But once begun, Shakespeare would give himself no rest. Nothing was more characteristic of his genius than its unceasing activity. The twenty-three years which elapsed between the appearance of 'Venus and Adonis' (1593) and his death (1616) were fully occupied in producing a series of master-pieces. "Venus and Adonis" was promptly followed by 'Lucrece' (1594) and 'Love's Labour Lost' by the 'Comedy of Errors' (1591). His works implied a steady growth. With 'Richard III' (1593) he "achieved a higher success." 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'A Mid-summer Night's Dream' and 'Merchant of Venice,' all written about 1595, placed him in the fore-front of the dramatists of the world. Then followed a series of historical plays echoing the "sense of patriotism, the more vivid sense of national existence, national freedom, national greatness." But his political sympathies were not those of the rising generation. The crown was regarded by him as "the centre and safe-guard of national life." What he sang of, therefore, was "the duty of patriotism, the grandeur of loyalty, the freedom of England from Pope or Spaniard, its safety

within its water-walled bulwark", enjoining—

'Nought shall make us rue
If England to itself do rest but true.'

This serious patriotic mood was often accompanied by a mood of genuine merriment and laughter. His Falstaff in 'Henry IV.' had drawn the admiration of the Queen who "ordered the poet to shew her Falstaff in love—an order which produced the 'Merry Wives of Windsor.' 'As you like it' followed it.

The sweeter fascination that hung round these comedies, however, disappeared in 'Troilus and Cressida' and 'Measure for Measure.' Disappointment, delusion and failure now seem to sway the world. In 'Julius Cæsar' Brutus fails, from his very ignorance of mankind. 'Hamlet's' penetrating intellect cannot succeed, for his absolute want of capacity. "The poison of Iago taints the love of Desdemona and the grandeur of Othello." The natural frailty of the sex "dashed the cup of triumph from the hands of Lady Macbeth," and pride shattered the high grandeur of 'Coriolanus.'

But the Shakesperean gloom always heightens the magnificence of his conception—often too magnificent for the world in which we live. The grandeur of humanity, as he grew old, became his noblest theme and he drank deep of human philosophy. "What a piece of work is man," his Hamlet cries out, 'how infinite in faculty ; in form and moving how express and admirable ; in action how

like an angel ; in apprehension how like a God ; the beauty of the world ; the paragon of animals !" But the super-man of Shakespeare is not the Samson of Milton or even his angels, or even the blood-and-iron man of Nietzsche. His paragon of animals rose ultra-human only in moments of love and hatred, in speculation and daring, in passion and ambition, and in supreme joy and extreme remorse. If one in her very meekness could "die your maid," there were others 'at "flung away a kingdom for love." "The awful convulsion of a great nature in Othello, the terrible storm in the soul of 'Lear' which blends with the very storms of the heavens themselves, the awful ambition that nerved a woman's hand to dabble itself with the blood of a murdered king," are the significant portraits that Shakespeare presents to us. It is said that he is his all characters. He wrote as he felt and saw. And his observation was the one dominating factor in most of his plays. "The passion of Mary Stuart, the ruthlessness of Alva, the daring of Drake, the chivalry of Sidney, the range of thought and action in Raleigh or Elizabeth, come better home to us as we follow the mighty series of tragedies which began in 'Hamlet' and ended in 'Coriolanus'."

Shakespeare's death at once produced a reaction in the dramatic literature of England.

During the decadence that followed, Ben Jonson, Chapman, Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger and Webster tried to keep up the tradition of the age, but their noble efforts passed but

6. Ben
Jonson.

7. Chapman.

8. Beau-
mont and
Fletcher.

9. Mass-
inger.

as shadows of the drama that had gone before them. The spirit of the Elizabethan age, however, had done its work. "It had given birth to a mass of poetry and prose which ranks in literary merit with the products of the greatest literary epochs in the world's history. Above all it produced Shakespeare whom the unanimous verdict of all civilized peoples pronounced to be the greatest of dramatic poets."

10. Webster.

CHAPTER VII.

A Review and a Retrospect.

Elizabeth died on March 24, 1603.

Judging from the portraits of Queen Elizabeth, a fine specimen of which has been reproduced in the frontispiece, we are at once struck by her commanding features—the broad imperious brow, the beaming face, the fine and intelligent eyes—features that mark in clear outline a great personality within a frame of amazing energy. There was nothing, of course, about her outward appearance that could be called attractive; in fact, “she was never beautiful, not even in her youth.” But “the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn could hardly have missed inheriting some of the personal beauty of her parents” and “she was emphatically her father’s child. From him she got her immense physical vigour, her magnificent constitution, her powerful intellect, a frame which rendered her almost insensible to fear or pain.” With masculine characteristics such as these and with the masculine habits of life, it was inevitable that she should rather be a bit un-feminine and coarse. She was unsympathetic, wilful, self-assertive and occasionally ferocious and vindictive. But beneath these superficial traits, she possessed a strong will coupled with such prudence and

Elizabeth's
commanding
features.

Her
physique.

Her
tempera-
ment.

Two sides
of
Elizabeth's
character.

caution and preserved with such dignity as to arouse keen admiration in all. The tragic beginning of her life and the crushing experiences of her youth—her terrible position in the reigns of her brother and her sister, and her narrow escapes—all made her learn self-restraint and self-repression in the highest degree. We thus see the two sides of Elizabeth's character alternately presenting themselves. At times she would allow 'gross folly to lead her to the farthest point of wilfulness,' so much so that the Spanish Ambassador is said to have exclaimed 'This woman is possessed with hundred thousand devils ; and yet she pretends to me that she would like to be a nun and live in a cell and tell her beads from morning to night.' At others, she would stand in all her grandeur as the noblest Queen whom her people would be apt to behold as Raleigh would have beheld her 'riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, a gentle air blowing her fair hair about her cheeks like a nymph ; sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess ; sometimes singing like an angel ; sometimes playing like Orpheus, but always as a visible emblem of their ideals and aspirations.*

* "Some of the graver sort may, perhaps, aggravate her levities ; in loving to be admired and courted, nay, and to have love poems made on her and continuing this humour longer than was decent for her years ; yet to take even these matters in a milder sense, they claim a due admiration ; being often found in fabulous narratives ; as that of a certain queen in the fortunate islands, in whose court love was allowed, but lust banished."—*Bacon*.

Her physical inheritance, personal traits and political environment all combined to give her a personal ascendancy to which were largely due her powers as a sovereign. To maintain this ascendancy 'she needed a life full of personal interest.' As Bishop Creighton says "she preserved her intellectual coldness by gratifying her feelings. She dominated her ministers by pampering her favourites. She learned to understand the world around her not only through her head but through her heart as well. She was a woman as well as a queen and did not sink herself in her office." A contemporary account also gives the same view though in an extravagant form: "If any person had either the gift or the style to win the hearts of the people it was this Queen, and if she did possess the same, it was at that present, in coupling mildness with majesty, as she did and in stately stooping to the meanest sort. All her faculties were in motion, and every motion seemed a well-guided action. Her eye was set on one; her ear listened to another; her judgment ran upon a third; to a fourth she addressed her speech; her spirit seemed to be everywhere, and yet so entire in herself, as it seemed to be nowhere else. Some she pitied; some she commended; some she thanked; at others she pleasantly and wittily jested, contemning no person, neglecting no office; and distributing her smiles, looks and graces so artificially that thereon the people redoubled the testimony of their joys, and afterwards raising everything to the highest

Queen's
personal
ascendancy.

strain filled the ears of all men 'with immoderate extolling of their Prince.'

Successful
reign of
Elizabeth.

Few sovereigns have thus been portrayed in colours so bright and pure by some, so dark and coarse by others. But time has detracted little from the admiration of her contemporaries. Her reign and character are signalised by events of lasting importance. No one who has gone through the stirring incidents of her reign can fail to be impressed with the gigantic success that attended her forty-five years' rule. She had found England poor, decrepit and miserable at the time when she came to the throne, but left it wealthy, prosperous, independent and happy at the time of her death. In every department of progress England followed in the wake of the age and achieved astounding success. Politically she raised it to a leading position amongst the European states by breaking the power of Spain, strangling the ambition of the Duke of Guise and assuring the ultimate succession of Henry IV. to the French crown. At the same time "the flag of England became supreme on the seas; English commerce penetrated the farthest corner of the Old World, and English colonies rooted themselves on the shores of the New." Intellectually England attained a level hardly ever reached by any other nation of the world. In the sphere of religion it was able to effect momentous changes without blood-shed. After a long and well-contested struggle, "the England of a dominant church of monasteries and pilgrimages" evolved into the England of

an earnest, conscientious and austere truth-seeker. Socially, her development culminated almost in a Roman splendour. And financially, her position was far superior to any of the wealthiest states of Europe. It was no small credit to Elizabeth that "without unduly burdening her subjects she was able to discharge all the necessary government services, counteract the designs of the Spanish king, and at the same time act as paymaster-general of Protestantism and broker-in-chief to half the needy princes of Europe."

It is extremely difficult to detach from her character all these achievements of Queen Elizabeth. If she was capricious at times, she invariably maintained her sound common sense in every field of her activity, and uniformly directed her will by a cold calculating policy. If she was vain, if she loved finery and flattery, it was because she lived in a court and in the sixteenth century. If she dallied with her favourites, she would do so simply to satisfy her personal vanity but would neither allow them to abuse her favour nor to presume upon her fondness. And if ever they ventured to do so, her rebuke was always terrible. "She trod the insolence of Leicester to the dust, from which she told him, he had been raised by her; when she found Essex incorrigible, she deliberately cut off his head." If she persecuted the Catholics, she did it not for their religious opinions but for maintaining her own supremacy. If she persecuted the Protestants, it was from a sheer personal abhor-

Elizabeth's
peculiarities.

rence of the Calvinists. If she ever played a hypocrite, it was because she must play her part, and this is why we find that 'she never faced a question in which it presented itself.' If she showed indecision, it was because she needed to keep her intentions and movements systematically concealed. If she was parsimonious it was because she wanted the State to steer clear out of her condition of bankruptcy. If she was against war, it was because she believed in the magnificent possibilities of peace. In all her actions, therefore, we find her representing England in every sphere as no other sovereign ever did. Her instinctive sympathy with her people made her rather feel than understand the possibilities which lay before England and set to herself the task of educating 'Englishmen to a perception of England's destiny.'

Elizabeth's
foreign
policy.

In nothing is this better exemplified than in her foreign policy. She would miss no advantage 'which was afforded by the divided condition of Europe to assert England's importance. France and Spain alike had deep causes of mutual hostility ; she played off one against the other so that both were anxious for the friendship of a State which they each hoped some day to annex. England gained courage from this sight and grew in self-confidence. To gain this result she would hardly offend Spain so long it was a friend and would never fail to contrive its doom as soon as it turned an enemy. This applied, equally also, to France. But in either circumstances, she was

careful not to embark on an alliance or a war as a principal. It can be said to her credit that she never provoked hostilities, rather she always tried her best to suspend them as long as she could. Heir to the problems of English Reformation, she furthered the cause of Protestantism in a characteristic way. She would defend Scotland against France but not its Protestantism. She must have Calais restored and only with this end in view she would assist the Huguenots. She wanted to see Philip humbled, hence she sent expeditionary forces to the Netherlands. She would befriend Catholic France, because she was a necessary ally against Spain. She was thus ever-watchful, ever on her defensive, never caring 'how her conduct was judged,' and always awaiting results.

In domestic polity, Elizabeth's government marked the climax of absolutism. But "it is," as Bacon finely puts it, "Elizabeth's government and her government alone which hath let this proud nation* from over-running all, li any state be yet free from his† factions erected in the bowels thereof ; if there be any state wherein his faction is erected that is not yet fixed with civil troubles ; if there be any subject to him that enjoyeth moderate liberty upon whom he tyrannizeth not, let them all know it is by the mercy of this renowned Queen that standeth between them and their misfortune." There could be no truer defence

Domestic
policy of
Elizabeth.

* The Spaniards.

† Philip.

of Elizabeth than in the noble words quoted above, no fairer vindication of her spirited rule and no severer indictment of the Spanish policy. Despotism which she graced by the halo of her genius was transformed into a national rule which accounts for much of its popularity.

Birth of
Nationalism
in England.

The "national England" was thus the final outcome of the Queen's dictatorship. Throughout her reign nationalism was in the air. It pervaded all spheres—political, ecclesiastical, economic and social. If the government was national, so were literature, architecture, commerce, and what was most important in those days, the church. But nationalism though universal, did not invariably result in uniform success. "Where she was most studious to govern well, and to promote the interests of the people, she thought only of her own generation determined by her life: she checked and cut down the growth of abuses, but rooted up no one abuse, reformed no one political institution of the country." The administration of penal justice always remained a disgrace to her government. "The national control of religion was not altogether a success; nor did the state fulfil the educational responsibility it assumed." In the economic sphere it had made noble efforts to solve the problems of poverty, vagrancy and unemployment. Work was considered a national service, and no one was exempt from it except a few well-to-do. The Statute of Apprenticeship bound the masses either to agricultural or industrial

Solution
of the
Economic
problem.

service. There were fixed hours of labour and fixed rates of wages. All resignations and dismissals had to be made upon adequate grounds. But these state regulations were not made always for the benefit of the masses. On the contrary, many such regulations in agriculture and industry were made in the interests of the employers, while the external trade was regulated alone in the interests of the consumers. The doctrine of *laissez-faire* was unknown ; but the export and import of corn were regulated on a sliding scale and customs-duties were levied or suspended at the discretion of the sovereign.

Nevertheless the state regulations though rigid were never allowed to press heavily on the public. "The 16th century was an age of liberation, and it marks a stage in the transition from mediæval custom and status to modern competition and contract." The national system that the Tudors introduced was mainly directed to soften the closeness of the mediæval guilds and not to intensify their unhealthy rigour. It served more to antagonise and to some extent destroy the mediæval institutions than to renew them under the national cloak.

Still in its attacks against mediæval institutions, it was not invariably that it substituted the good for the evil. In some cases it rather made matters worse. Privateering, piracy, and Irish plantations became the national disease. "By the inclosure of commons and by fraudulent manufactures . . . Englishmen

Benefits
of the
national-
isation.

Its evil
effects.

preyed on the commonwealth. Bribery in the courts of law, intimidation of juries by the local magnates, defalcations by the collectors of taxes and embezzlement in public offices were other signs of the deficient sense of social obligation with which the Tudors had to cope"; and their attempts to stamp these out met with only partial success.

**Permanent
results of
Elizabeth's
reign.**

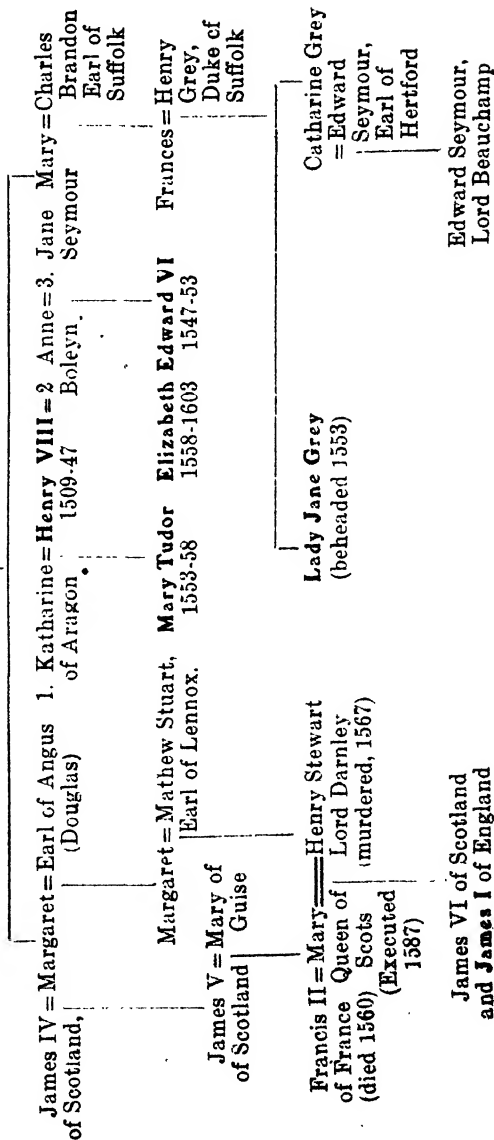
But about the grander achievements of the Tudors and more particularly of Queen Elizabeth, history has recorded its final judgment. "The Tudors established order without which liberty is impossible, weakened the local and social barriers which impeded growth of public opinion, eradicated foreign influence and created a sense of national security. They thus prepared the way for a further advance towards self-government" and of them, to none these apply more fittingly than the

"Good Queen Bess."

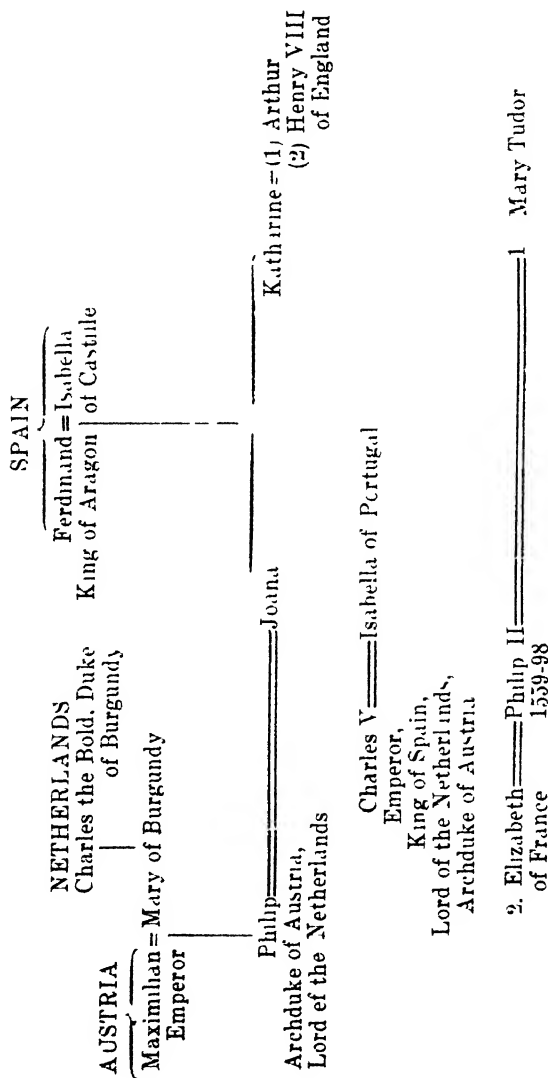
Genealogical Tables.

I. England and Scotland.

Henry VII = Elizabeth
(1485-1509)

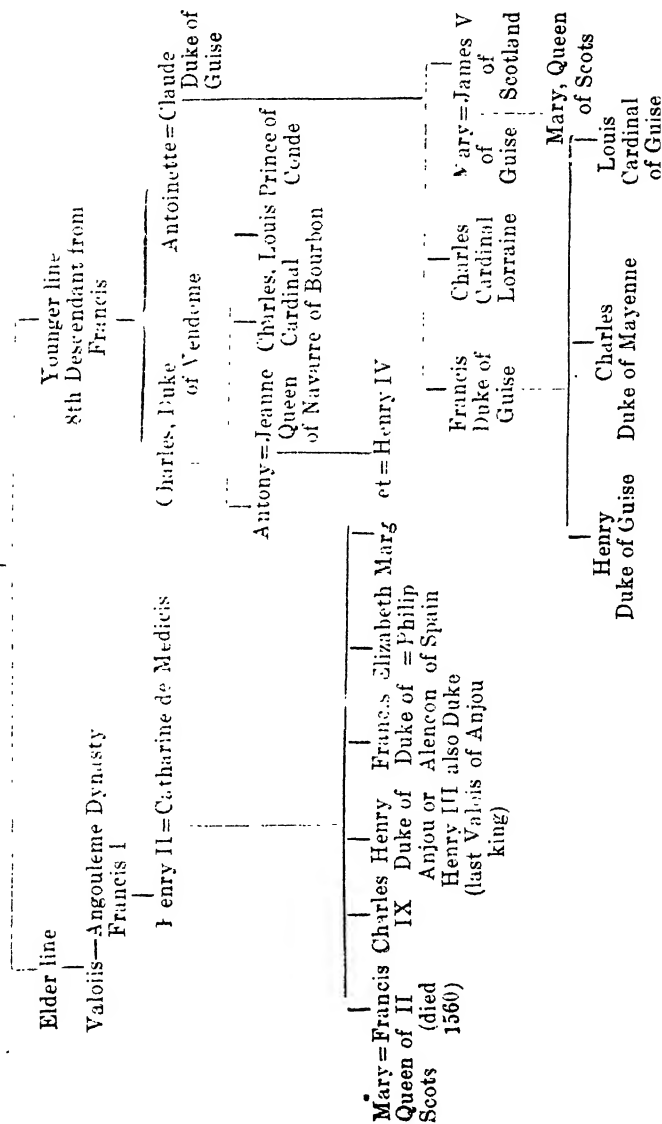


2. Spain.



3. France.

Louis IX (St. Louis)



Contemporaries of Elizabeth.

England	Scotland	France	Germany	Spain	Popes
Elizabeth 1558-1603	Mary (1542-1567)	Henry II (1547-1559)	Ferdinand I (1558-1564)	Philip II (1556-1598)	Paul IV (1555-1559)
	James VI (1567-1625)	Francis II (1559)	Maximilian II (1564-1576)	Philip III (1598-1621)	Pius IV (1559-1566)
		Charles IX (1560-1594)	Rudolf (1576-1612)		Pius V (1566-1572)
		Henry III (1594-1589)			Gregory XIII (1572-1585)
		Henry IV (1589-1610)			Sixtus V (1585-1590)
					Urban VII (1590)
					Gergory XIV (1590)
					Innocent IX (1590-1592)
					Clement VIII (1592-1605)

APPENDIX A.

"SAYINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH."

[The utterances of Queen Elizabeth which are justly famous possess quite an auto-biographical touch about them. As "the Spectator" has pointed out, "there are plenty of them, and they all have an extraordinary thrill in them." Mr. Chamberlin, has done a distinct service to Elizabethan history and literature by bringing out a collection of these 'sayings' and we offer our grateful acknowledgement to him for what we have incorporated in this Appendix.]

ELIZABETH ON HERSELF.

To the Archbishop of St. Andrews :

I am more afraid of making a fault in my Latin than of the kings of Spain, France, Scotland, the whole House of Guise and all of the confederates.

To the Swedish Ambassador who warned her of dangers if she did not marry his master :

I have the heart of a man, not a woman, and I am not afraid of anything.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I am attracted to perpetual spinsterhood not by prejudice, but rather by inclination.

To the same :

I would rather be a beggar and single than a queen and be married.

To the Duke of Norfolk (1562) :

At my own time I shall turn my mind to marriage if it be for the public good.

To Whitehead, a learned divine :

Whitehead, I like thee better because thou livest unmarried. ["The doughty old fellow at once replied : In truth Madam, I like you the worse for the same cause."]

To Sir Edward——, who had been for a long time urging her to grant him some favour which she had promised. As he was

walking in the palace garden, Elizabeth put her head out of her window and asked him :

What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing? [To this he replied : "Of a woman's promises." She then said :] Well, Sir Edward, I must not confute you.

To Fénelon, on the presentation of his credentials of his king :

Although I may not be a lioness, I am a lion's cub, and inherit many of his qualities; and as long as the king of France treats me gently he will find me as gentle and tractable as he can desire; but if he be rough, I shall take the trouble to be just as troublesome to him as I can.

Elizabeth's favourite motto :

Video et taceo. (I see and am silent).

To Fénelon I regarding her evasions :

It is said that we women always have excuses and evasions all ready.

To the French Ambassador :

Though the sex to which I belong is considered weak, you will nevertheless find me a rock that bends to no wind.

To the same :

Although I am a woman, nevertheless I am daughter of my predecessors who knew how to deserve this kingdom.

To some person unknown :

I don't keep a dog and bark myself.

To the French Ambassador !

I will not trust my body or my soul to any one in the world.

To a deputation of twenty peers, who urged her to marry :

I do not choose that my grave should be dug while I am alive.

To some one unknown.

The name of a successor is like the tolling of my own death-bell.

To the Lord Admiral, Howard, upon leaving London for the first time :

My throne has always been the throne of kings, and none but my next heir of blood and descent shall succeed.

To her ladies, on the subject of her epitaph :

I am no lover of pompous title, but only desire that my name may be recorded in a line or two, which shall briefly express my name, my virginity, the years of my reign, the reformation of religion under it, and my preservation of peace.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury who was praying by the side of deathbed and who had been calling to her mind her great accom-

plishments as a monarch. These appear to have been her last words :
 My lord, the crown which I have borne so long has given enough
 of vanity in my time. I beseech you not to augment it in this
 hour when I am so near my death.

II. ELIZABETH AND RELIGION.

To Somerset (1549) :

I know I have a soul to be saved as well as other folks have.

To de Faria :

It would indeed be bad for me to forget God, who has been
 so good to me.

To an attendant, reported by Fénelon :

There is one thing higher than Royalty : and that is religion,
 which causes us to leave the world, and seek God.

To de Silva :

Many people think we are Turks or Moors here, whereas we
 only differ from other Catholics in things of small importance.

To the French Ambassador, who had praised her statecraft :

It came from the goodness of God, upon whom I have depended
 more than upon any one in the world.

III. ELIZABETH AND THE CHURCH.

To the French Ambassador :

If there were two princes in Christendom who had good will and
 courage, it would be very easy to reconcile the religious diffi-
 culties; there is only one Jesus Christ and one faith, and all
 the rest is a dispute over trifles.

To someone unknown, reported by the Duchess de Faria :

I pray God that the earth may open and swallow me alive, if
 I be not a true Roman Catholic.

To the French Ambassador :

I have never permitted evil to happen to any Catholic *for his*
faith, but only if he were plotting against the state.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

My bishops are a set of knaves, but I will not have the Catholics
 ill-used.

To Fénelon :

I only want the king of France to authorize the exercise of the
 Protestant religion in such a moderate way that it can neither
 injure nor offend his other subjects who are Catholics.

To Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador :

I have never castigated the Catholics except when they would not acknowledge me as their queen ; in spiritual matters I believe as they do.

To some person unknown.

My one desire is the union of the faithful, and if the emperor and other princes wish to summon a Council which shall be universal and free, I will give my adherence. I know the Calvinists to be criminals, whose desire is to destroy allegiance to princes.

IV. 'ELIZABETH AND MARRIAGE.'

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg, regarding her ideal of marriage :

I love a friend as myself, but I should love a husband more than myself, since I should be giving myself to him, representing, as he would, the very summit of love.

To Fénelon, who desired to congratulate her on her marriage :

I formerly assured you that I never meant to marry, but I regret now that I had not thought in time about my want of posterity ; and if I ever do marry it will be only with the prince of a royal house of suitable rank with my own.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

Many people regard it as incredible that I should shrink from matrimony, but nevertheless that is the plain fact of the case.

To the Ambassador of Ferdinand, the Emperor, on his urging her to marry the Archduke Charles :

I shall never have a husband who will sit all day by the fire. When I marry it will be with a man who can ride, and hunt, and fight.

To the French Ambassador :

It is not yet decided that I shall ever marry ; and who ever the man may be, if he had not great means, he would acquire great power by his marriage, to execute any ill designs he might possess. Therefore, I have decided never to give up to my husband anything, neither property, nor power, nor opportunities for acquiring it, for I want to make use of him only to leave a successor to my subjects.

To the same :

When I think of marriage, it is though my heart were being dragged out of my vitals, so much am I opposed to marriage

by nature; but if the welfare of my subjects compels me to marry, I shall marry out side my kingdom.

To the French Ambassador :

If I marry I do not mean to follow your advice by wedding a subject.

To the same :

If I thought that one of my subjects was so presumptuous as to seek me for his wife, I would never want to see him, and I would give him a bad time, although it would be against my nature, which contains no cruelty.

To Kate Ashley, her old nurse, who urged her to marry Leicester :
What ! shall I so far forget myself as to prefer a poor servant of my own making to the first princes in christendom.

To de Silva, regarding a slander :

The world, when a woman remains single, assumes that there must be something wrong about her, and that she has some discreditable reason for it. They said of me that I would not marry because I was in love with the Earl of Leycester, and I could not marry him because he had a wife already; yet now he has no wife; and nevertheless I do not marry him, although at one time the king my brother (Philip II.) advised me to do it.

To Melville, the Scottish Ambassador, who expressed that Henry VIII, had thought of nominating James V, of Scotland as his heir :
I am glad that he did not. I never mind to marry except I am compelled to do it by the queen my sister's (Mary Queen of Scots) hard behaviour of me.

To de Silva :

I promise you, if I could to-day appoint such a successor to the crown as would please me and the country, I would not marry, as that is a thing for which I have never had any inclination.

To the Swedish Ambassador :

I cannot yet lead myself to marriage; but I see it will be necessary; the safety of my kingdom requires that I shall bring myself to it, so I have changed my first purpose and am thinking of it.

To the French Ambassador :

I have a great regret at never having married, for seeing the evils which threaten my subjects after my death; there is no prince in christendom who has not courted me; but I never had any inclination to marry.

To the Spanish Ambassador, regarding her diplomatic courtship with Alencon :

An old woman like me has something else to think about besides marrying; the hopes I gave that I would marry Alencon were given for the purpose of getting him out of the Netherlands states; I never wished to see them in the hands of the French.

V. ELIZABETH AND HER PEOPLE.

Regarding her relation with her subjects :

It is the people who have placed me in the position I at present hold as the declared successor to the crown.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

There is nothing about which I am more anxious than my country, and for its sake I am willing to die ten deaths, if that be possible.

To Fénelon :

It warms my heart to see myself so loved and desired by my subjects.

To those about her :

I shall lend credit to nothing against my people which parents would not believe against their own children.

To her judges :

Have a care over my people. You have my people—do you that which I ought to do. They are *my* people.

To the Venetian Ambassador, who complained of English pirates :

I would have you know that this kingdom of mine is not so scant of men but that there may be a rogue or two amongst them.

VI. ELIZABETH AS A DESPOT.

To Burghley, Bacon and others, on their protesting that law will not allow her to act in a particular way :

Away! what the law fails to do, my authority shall effect.

To Hudson, to say to James VI of Scotland, who had threatened to take revenge for his mother's execution :

Being a queen, and a prince (I am) answerable to none for my actions, otherwise than as I shall be disposed of my own free will, but to Almighty God alone.

To her Council, after being asked by Cardinal Chastillon to consult it about her proposed marriage with Anjou :

This I can tell you plainly, "I did not think good, and I

replied to him : I am a sovereign Queen, and do not depend on my Council, but they on me, who hold their lives and heads in my hands, and they dare only do what I wish."

To Parliament, when it urged her to marry and settle the succession :
You attend to your own duties and I'll perform mine.

To the speaker of the House of Commons :

Liberty of speech is granted to the Commons, but they must know what liberty they are entitled to; not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; their privilege extends no further than a liberty of Aye or No.

To the speaker of the Commons, after compelling him to deliver to her a Bill she did not like :

It is in my power to call parliaments, in my power to dissolve them, in my power to give assent or dissent to any determination which they should form. I have already enjoined them to meddle neither with matters of state nor of religion and I take the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill regarding either state affairs or reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited in the House. In particular, I charge you, upon your allegiance, if any such bills be offered absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members.

To Parliament, 1592 :

You are not called together to make new laws or lose good hours in idle speeches but to vote a supply to enable me to defend my realm against the hostile attempts of the king of Spain.

VII. ELIZABETH & HER MAXIMS OF GOVERNMENT.

To Queen Mary Tudor's messenger, declaring Elizabeth to be her successor and sending her instructions regarding Council, religion and debts :

I am sorry to hear of the Queen's illness, but there is no reason why I should thank her for her intention of giving me the Crown of this realm, for she has neither the power of bestowing it upon me, nor can I lawfully be deprived of it, since it is my peculiar and hereditary right. With respect to the council, I think myself as much at liberty to choose my councillors as she was to choose hers. As to religion, I promise this much, that I will not change it, provided, only, that it can be proved by

the word of God, which shall be the only foundation and rule of my religion. Lastly, in requiring the payment of her debts, she seems to me to require nothing more than what is just, and I will take care that they shall be paid as far as may lie in my power. (Zurich Letters.)

To the Earl of Oxford who sought permission to join in a revolution against the king of France :

I cannot wish that a man of such note among my people should find himself on the side of one who is *fighting against his King*.

To Walsingham, to whom she stated that she only required the Papists to obey her laws :

For I make no widows into the hearts of men.

To Catherine de Medici :

My peaceful government and security have not so lulled me to sleep that I have not made provision for any accident.

To Francis Bacon, advising how a magistrate should behave :

Bacon, how can the magistrate maintain his authority, if the man be despised?

To Fénelon :

I would rather go to any extreme than suffer anything that is unworthy of my reputation, or that of my Crown.

To the same; referring to the Massacre of St. Bartholomeues :

It is not lawful for even Princes to kill, nor cause to kill, except in two cases only; one, in legitimate warfare; and the other, in the execution of justice, to punish crimes; and no other but Princes and magistrates have power of life and death.

To the same :

Princes have big ears which hears far and near.

To Burghley, on making him the chief minister (1558) :

I give you this charge that you shall be of my Privy Council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted by any member of gift, and that you will be faithful to the State. And that, without respect to my private will, will give me that counsel which you think best, and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein, and therefore herewith, I charge you.

To Sir Nicholas Bacon :

I have followed your advice, these two years past, in all the affairs of my kingdom, and I have seen nothing but trouble,

expense, and danger. From this hour, for the same length of time, I am going to follow my own opinion, and see if I find I do any better.

- To the French Ambassador, speaking of the Rebellion of Condé :
There is nothing in the world I hold in greater horror than to see a body moving against its head : and I shall be very careful not to ally myself with such a monster.

VIII. ELIZABETH AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

- To the Scottish Ambassador :

If the Queen of Scotland will be guided by me and wishes to marry safely and happily. I will give her a husband who will ensure both ; and this is Lord Robert (Leycester) on whom God has bestowed so many charms that if I were myself to marry I would prefer him to all the princes in the world.

- To Mary :

Unless you marry as I desire, you will probably forfeit all hope of a peaceful succession to the English Crown.

- To de Silva, shortly after the murder of Rizio :

Had I been in Mary's place on the night of Riccio's murder, I should have snatched her husband's dagger and stabbed him with it

- To her ladies, on the news of the birth of a son to Mary (1566) :

The Queen of Scots is lighter of a fair son, and I am but barren stock.

- To Mary, when she took refuge in England :

I assure you I will do nothing to hurt you, but rather honour and aid you.

- To the Bishop of Ross, the Scottish Ambassador :

I hope that neither the French Ambassador, nor any one else, will think me such a fool, since the Queen of Scots is in my hands, as not to make sure, before I release her, that she shall not form a pretext for some other prince to make war on me,

- To Catherine de Medici, who has been solicitous for the welfare of Mary :

I assure you of the safety of the life and honour of the Queen of Scots. I will not forget that she is a Queen, and my near relative ; nor on the other hand can I put aside the consideration which moves me not to treat her with such ceremony or pomp as I may have desired, and which I would rather leave to your good judgment to imagine, than suffer my pen to write.

To Fénelon :

There seems to be something sublime in the words and bearing of the Queen of Scots that constrains even her enemies to speak well of her.

To those who were urging her to put Mary to death :

Can I put to death the bird that, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, has fled to my feet for protection? Honour and conscience forbid!

To Mary :

You will think the writer has drank of the water of Lethe, but there is no such river in England.

To Mary :

I am informed that open rebels against my authority are receiving countenance and favour from yourself and your counsellors Remove these briars, I pray you, lest some thorn prick your heel. Such matters hurt to the quick. It is not by such ways as these that you will attain the object of your desire.

To Mary, who was creating trouble for Elizabeth in England :

Your actions towards me are as full of venom as your words of honey.

To the Scottish Ambassador :

No human power will ever persuade me to sign the warrant for Mary's execution.

To a person unknown :

If Elizabeth is to live Mary must die.

To herself, when confronted with the necessity of executing Mary :

Among the thousand who profess to be attached to me as a sovereign, not one will spare me the painful task of dipping my hands in the blood of a sister queen.

To Davidson, when signing the Death Warrant of Mary :

[I have deferred this execution] for my honour's sake that the world may see that I have not been violently or maliciously drawn thereto.

To the French Ambassador, after the execution of Mary :

This death will wring my heart as long as I live.

To Burghley, after the execution of Mary :

You are a traitor, a false dissembler and a wicked wretch. Avoid my presence.

To Roger, an attache of the French Embassy, on the day she had committed Davidson to the Tower :

I am deeply afflicted by the death of the Queen of Scotland whom it was never my intention to put to death . . . Davidson took me by surprise, but he is now in a place where he will have to answer for it and you will tell his Majesty of France so.

To James VI. she wrote :

I would you 'know (though not felt) the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind for that *misérable accident*, which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen.

IX. ELIZABETH AND LEICESTER.

To a delegation from the House of Lords, whose members complained of her favours to Leycester :

I have not thought of contracting a marriage with Dudley; I only, show him favour because of his goodness to me when I was in trouble during the reign of my sister. At that time he never ceased his former kindness and service, but even sold his possessions to provide me with funds; and on this account it seems to me that just that now I should give him some reward for his fidelity and constancy.

To those about her when she believed herself to be dying with small-pox (1562) :

Although I have always dearly loved Lord Robert (Dudley) as God is my witness, nothing improper has ever passed between us.

To some person unknown, speaking of Leycester :

I ever love his virtues but I cannot take a subject for my husband.

To Leycester himself :

On your life, never, be so presumptuous as to aspire to my hand.

To Leycester, who had threatened with dismissal one of the Queen's attendants as he had displeased him. The offending man confronted the Earl before the Queen and asked her "Who is to rule; Leycester or Your Majesty" :

God's death, my lord! I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up in you that others shall not participate thereof, for I have many servants, unto whom I have conferred and will, at my pleasure, confer my favour, and likewise reassume the same; and if you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forthcoming. I will have here but one mistress and no master.

To Leycester, who had presumed again :

If by my favour you have become insolent, you will soon reform ;
I shall pull you down just as I raised you in the beginning.

To the Court, regarding Leycester's acceptance of the sovereignty of
the Netherlands against her orders :

I will let the upstart know how easily the hand which has exalted
him can beat him down to the dust.

X. ELIZABETH AND BURGHLEY.

To Burghley, when suffering from gout :

My lord, we make use of you, not for your bad legs, but for
your good head.

To the same, when he was aged (1588) :

You are too old and doting.

To the same :

I have been strong enough to lift you out of the dirt, and I am
still able to cast you down again.

To Cecil, Burghley's son, who said that she must go to bed (she was
on deathbed) to content her people :

The word "must" is not to be used to princes. Little man,
if your father had lived ye durst not have said so much ; but ye
know I must die and that makes ye so presumptuous.

XI. ELIZABETH AND RALEIGH.

To Raleigh, who, while the Queen was looking at him, had written
on her window pane with a diamond :

"Fain would I climb, but that I fear to fall", she with her own
gem instantly answered by writing these under her own :"

If thy heart fail then do not climb at all.

To the same as she paid the wager for determining the weight of
smoke emitted from a pipe-ful of tobacco :

I have known many persons who turned their gold into smoke,
but you are the first to turn smoke into gold.

XII. ELIZABETH AND ESSEX.

When Elizabeth heard of Essex fighting a duel with Blount, she
exclaimed :

By God's death, it is fit that some one or other should take the
Earl down and teach him manners, otherwise there will be no
ruling him.

To Essex, as she boxed his ears for insolence :

Go and be hanged.

To Bacon, with regard to Essex's flattery of her :

Essex has written to me some dutiful letters, which moved me ; but taking them to flow from the abundance of his heart, I find them but a preparative to a suit for renewing his farm of sweet wines (monopoly).

To Bacon, who had requested to send Essex again to Ireland :

Essex ! when I send Essex back into Ireland, I will marry you.
Claim it of me.

To the French Ambassador :

If I could have spared the life of this ungrateful and perfidious Essex and secured the continuance of my authority in the state, I would gladly have been lenient ; but you yourself have seen that he was unworthy ; and while he lived I could not live, and I was compelled to rid myself of this danger. But I confess that I have been partly to blame for this misfortune, as I had made too much of Essex, and had allowed him to become greater among the nobility and the common people than was desirable for a subject.

XIII. ELIZABETH'S WIT, HUMOUR AND RETORTS.

To Lord Herbert of Charbury :

God's death ! It is pity he married so young.

To some person unknown :

I have a cavalry regiment whereof neither horse nor man can be injured ; my regiment, namely, of tailors on mares.

To the Venetian Nobleman visiting Windsor :

If what you have seen has pleased you, you now behold the worst—the mistress.

When told that the Pope had a very exalted idea of her ability, she replied :

I think he and I should get married.

To Dr. Humphreys, leader of the Puritans :

Mr. Doctor, that loose gown becomes you so well, I wonder your notions should be so narrow.

Guzman de Silva was the Spanish Ambassador in England and when sending Man, Dean of Gloucester, as Ambassador to the Court of Philip II., she said to her attendants :

King Philip has sent a Gooseman to me, and I, in return have sent a Man to him not a whit better than a goose.

To Catherine de Medici, replying to her letter :

Nothing is more disagreeable for me than to write, and particularly in the Roman hand. Rather than not return your courtesy I send this rude writing, believing that it will flush to be in your hands, to be seen by eyes to which it is unaccustomed. I hope that you will think it has been written while galloping in the chase.

To Protector Somerset (1549) :

They are most deceived that trusteth most in themselves.

To Parliament :

They that fear the hoary frost, the snow shall fall on them.

To the Spanish Ambassador :

A clear and innocent conscience fears nothing.

To some unknown person :

One man with a head on his shoulders is worth a dozen without.

To the French Ambassador :

I know my kingdom is small; it is easier to defend.

To de Quadra :

They who think they are so clever will find themselves outwitted at last.

To a correspondent unknown :

Where minds differ and opinions swerve there is scant a friend in that company.

On hearing that the mob behind Essex, during his rebellion, was rushing towards the palace :

Not one of them will dare to meet a single glance of my eyes!

They will fly at the very notice of my approach.

To a gentleman who had sent some pearls to her which she would not accept :

My mind is as great to refuse as yours to give.

To Fénelon, referring to the ulcer above her ankle :

If I am lame, France and Scotland will find that my affairs are not.

To her ladies, after listening to a sermon by the Bishop of London, who had arraigned those who dressed too elaborately :

If the bishop holds more discourse on such matters, I will fit him for heaven, but he will walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.

To the Duke of Norfolk, regarding the proposal to marry Mary Queen of Scots :

I would wish you to take good care of your pillow.

To Fénelon :

God has given such brave soldiers to this Crown that, if they do not frighten our neighbours, at least they prevent us from being frightened by them.

To the French Ambassador, when she was sixty four :

I was never beautiful, but I had the reputation of it thirty years ago.

To her court, after she learnt of the devastation of Ireland by Mountjoy :

I find that I sent wolves not shepherds to govern Ireland, for they have left me nothing but ashes and carcasses to reign over.

XIV. MISCELLANEOUS UTTERANCES.

To one of her keepers, while at woodstock :

That milkmaid's lot is better than mine, and her life merrier.

Written on a glass window at woodstock :

Much suspected of me,
Nothing proved can be,
Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner.

To some one unknown :

A fig for Spain so long, as Royston will afford such plenty of good malts.

To Essex, who was urging her to reinforce. Flushing as its English Governor had requested :

My governors are never well but when they can draw me into unnecessary charges.

To her attendants, referring to the small sums that reached her from the sales of the crown properties :

My commissioners behave to me as strawberry vendors to their customers, who lay two or three great strawberries at the mouth of the pottle, and all the rest are little ones, so they give me two or three good prices at the first, and the rest fetch nothing.

To Francis Bacon, concerning Hayward's History of Henry IV, the author of which had displeased her :

Cannot you find something in the book that may be construed into treason? I want him put to rack to see whether he is the author or not.

Bacon, noting his ample forehead :

My lord Bacon's soul lodgeth well.

APPENDIX B.

Biographical.

ALVA.—A Spanish noble of the old type, haughty, proud, and self-asserting; one of the 'chief captains of the age'; loyally devoted to King Philip II. of Spain in whose service he wished to win honour and glory; appointed governor of Naples by Philip, he reduced Pope Paul IV. who had joined Henry II. of France to drive the Spaniards out of Italy; his repressive methods and heavy taxation in that country led to its revolt; recalled by Philip in 1573 for his failure; appointed to lead the Spanish army into Portugal which he conquered within two months; died shortly after.

ALENCON DUKE OF, FRANCIS.—Youngest son of Catharine de Medicis; became Duke of Anjou on the accession of his brother Henry of Anjou to the throne of France as King Henry III.; joined the Protestant party in France to secure power; was an advocate of the old French policy of hostility against Spain and hence the Dutch nobles sought his assistance; being elected sovereign by all the States in the Netherlands (except Holland and Zealand), proceeded there in 1581 and compelled the Prince of Parma to raise the siege of Cambray; disliking his constitutional position there, his French officers tried to make him supreme by force and he himself formed a plan to surprise Antwerp (1563) but failed; stood as a suitor of Elizabeth (1572-1581). This marriage-project gave birth to the famous pamphlet in England '*The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*' which was suppressed and whose author Stubbs, sentenced to the amputation of his right hand; short in stature, ugly-looking in appearance, with harsh voice and swollen nose, Elizabeth took delight in her courtship with him, and called him her 'Frog'; died in France after his return from the Netherlands.

ANTONIO, DON.—An illegitimate scion of the royal house of Portugal; stood as a claimant to the throne but was expelled by Alva, the general of Philip II., who too was another claimant (1580); came to England in 1581; joined the English expedition to Portugal (1589), hoping that the Portuguese would rally round him but was disappointed.

ASCHAM ROGER—A man of strong common sense; one of the earliest of English Greek scholars; tutor to the children of Henry VIII. and Lady Jane Grey; became Latin Secretary successively to Queen Mary and Elizabeth; taught Elizabeth the learned languages when she was placed under his pupilage in 1548; appointed Canon of York in 1599; wrote 'the Schoolmaster,' the first English treatise on classical education, and 'the Toxophilus,' a treatise on archery; died in 1568.

CATHARINE DE MEDICIS—Wife of King Henry II. of France, a Florentine by birth, her love of power was unbounded; after her husband's death encouraged her royal sons to indulge in vicious course of life, while she aspired to rule the kingdom in their name, according to the most unscrupulous method of Italian state-craft; her policy was a first to balance the Catholics and Protestants at home; and in order to do this she needed peace abroad; hence she did neither support the English Catholics nor Mary Stuart's pretensions to the English throne; the growing influence of Coligny over her son Charles IX. alarmed her; at once joined the Guises and the Catholics to persecute the Huguenots and to plot for the assassination of Coligny; the St. Bartholomew massacres were perpetrated on her initiative; she soon understood her mistake and reverted to the old policy of balancing the religious parties in France; put forward claims to the throne of Portugal for herself though they were not seriously pressed; invited Don Antonio to make an expedition against Philip II. who had conquered Portugal; died in January 1589. "Her temper" remarks Green, "like that of Elizabeth, was a purely political temper," and it was, "through her counsels and her policies she contributed largely to make France wretched through the three successive reigns of her sons, and to bring her house to its miserable end."

DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS—(1595—1596) Early inured to a sea-life, he went with his relative Hawkins to the Spanish Main to sell Negroes; undertook a voyage on his own account in 1570 to the West Indies; sailed in 1572 to make reprisals upon the Spaniards for the losses he had sustained at their hands previously, and made an unsuccessful attack on Nombre-de-Dios; on his return Elizabeth employed him in Ireland; in 1577 plundered the Spanish towns on the Chili coasts, captured an immense booty, and finally crossing the Pacific returned home round the Cape, thus circumnavigating the globe; knighted by Elizabeth in recognition of his daring conduct (1580); in 1585 in course of another expedition against Spain he captured the cities of Santiago, Porto Praya, San Domingo, and Carajena; in 1587, during the

preparations of the Spanish Armada, he with his fleet did much damage in the port of Cadiz where he is said to have "sing'd the king of Spain's beard"; captured an immense Spanish treasure-ship off the Azores, and returning England was appointed Vice-admiral of the English fleet against the Armada; in 1589 led an expedition to Portugal on behalf of Don Antonio, but was unsuccessful; in 1595 led an expedition to the West Indies, in course of which he died; undoubtedly he was a great sea-captain of the age and the first and greatest of English seamen.

FROBISHER, SIR MARTIN—A great navigator of the Elizabethan age; set sail in 1576 to explore the North-West passage; in 1576 endeavoured, though ineffectually, to found a settlement north of Hudson's Bay; in 1585 accompanied Drake in his voyage to the West Indies; in 1588 took an active part against the Spanish Armada; killed in an action near Brest on behalf of Henry IV. of France against the combined Spanish and League armies (1594).

GUISES—The most influential family in France in the Elizabethan age. They were zealous advocates of the Catholic cause and vowed the extirpation of the Huguenots. The head of the family, **FRANCIS, DUKE OF GUISE**, had become immensely popular by capturing Calais from the English in 1558, and was the author of the massacre of the Huguenots at Vassy in 1562; assassinated in course of the siege of Orleans by a Huguenot fanatic in 1563. His brother **CHARLES, CARDINAL LORRAINE**, a man of commanding presence and with a high reputation for sanctity, gained great influence with the French king Francis II. Mary Stuart, the young queen, was his niece and through her the Cardinal ruled the boy king Francis. Cardinal Guise through her the Cardinal ruled the boy king Francis. Cardinal Guise advised Francis and Mary to assume the title and arms of England; directed the court-policy from 1555-1560, and offended the nobles by excluding them from the court and the administration and trying to secure power for his own kinsmen. His sister **MARY OF GUISE**, wife of James V of Scotland and mother of Mary Stuart, became the Regent of Scotland, during the absence of her daughter in France, and governed that country in the interests of France and Catholicism, till she was removed. **HENRY, DUKE OF GUISE**, son of Francis became the leader of the Catholics, took a prominent part in the St. Bartholomew massacre; became the chief of the Catholic League to exclude Henry of Navarre from the throne and fought successfully in the Wars of the Three Henries, but was assassinated by the orders of king Henry III. in 1588. On his brother's death

Charles Duke of Mayenne became the head of the Catholic League, but CHARLES, DUKE OF GUISE, son of the murdered Duke tried to secure power with the aid of Philip II. who even intended to marry his daughter the Infanta to him; after Henry IV.'s absolution the young Guise submitted to him and entered the king's service.

HAWKINS, SIR JOHN—A distinguished naval captain in Queen Elizabeth's reign; said to have first established a trade in slaves (1562—64) whom he bought in Guinea and sold in Hispaniola; his ships and merchandise were captured by the Spanish governor of Mexico in 1572; took part in the fight with the Armada; knighted by the queen; in 1590 made expedition to the Spanish Main with Martin Frobisher, and five years later sailed for the West Indies with Drake, but died before anything was accomplished.

HOWARD, LORD CHARLES OF EFFINGHAM—Son of William, Lord Howard of Effingham and grandson of the second Duke of Norfolk; held a command in the royal army during the Northern rebellion in 1569; although a Catholic was appointed Lord High Admiral of England in 1585; had command of the English fleet which defeated the Spanish Armada; was associated with Earl of Essex in his Cadiz Expedition in 1596, and created Earl of Nottingham as a reward for his services became very popular in the Navy and continued under James to hold his office as Admiral.

LENNOX, ESME STUART, EARL OF—Son of John d'Aubigny, captain of the Scots Guard in France, and nephew of Matthew, Lord Lennox, (Regent of Scotland and father of Darnley); came to Scotland where his polished manners soon recommended him to James VI. who made him the Earl of Lennox; hated by the Scotch nobles as a foreigner, he sought to increase his popularity by becoming a Protestant and to secure power by the ruin of Morton; became an object of dread to Elizabeth as he had successfully engaged himself in furthering Papal conspiracies against her; hurled from his high position by the Raid of Ruthven, Lennox returned to France where he died (1583).

LENNOX, LORD MATTHEW STUART—A member of the French house of D'Aubigny; married the daughter of the Earl of Angus and Queen Margaret; father of Darnley, on whose murder he endeavoured without avail to bring Bothwell to justice; appointed one of the Council of Regency on Mary's abdication (1567); elected Regent of Scotland in 1570 and once attacked and took the castle of Dumberton, one of the strongholds of Mary's party; mortally wounded next year in a fray at Stirling.

MEDINA SIDONIA, DUKE OF—A Spanish noble, utterly ignorant of the art of naval warfare, appointed commander of the Spanish Armada on the death of Santa Cruz (1588); signally failed in the invasion of England.

MURRAY, JAMES STUART EARL OF—The illegitimate son of James V. and half-brother of Queen Mary of Scots; vehemently opposed his sister's marriage with Darnley and headed the combination of Lords against the Queen and her wretched husband; appointed Regent on the abdication of his sisters (1567); on her escape from the prison (1568), he hastily collected a body of troops and defeated her at Langside; was one of the commissioners for James VI. at York; his implacable enemies, the Hamiltons formed a combination against him, and tried to bring back Mary, but the chief conspirators were seized by him; in 1570 he was assassinated by James Hamilton.

NORFOLK, THOMAS HOWARD, FOURTH DUKE OF—One of the most powerful nobles in England in Elizabeth's time; a Catholic in politics though in creed he professed himself to be an Anglican; while commanding the Army of the North during the Scottish campaign of 1560, he first incurred the Queen's displeasure; appointed President of the Commission of York in 1568 to examine the charges against Mary Queen of Scots; aspired to marry the queen and formed a plot to overthrow Cecil, who stood in the way of the marriage, which was discovered; for this he was arrested and sent to the Tower (1569) but subsequently liberated; being involved in a fresh Catholic conspiracy, the Ridolfi plot, he was tried and executed (1592).

PARKER, MATHEW—Archbishop of Canterbury; educated at Cambridge; his general ability marked him out for early notice; joined the Reformation movement of which Cambridge was the centre; obtained license to preach from Cranmer and became well-known for his oratorial powers; in 1535 he was the Chaplain to Anne Boleyn; made Canon of Ely in 1541; married; co-operated, in the reign of Edward VI. in the progress of the Reformation; became Dean of Lincoln; deprived of his office by Mary; appointed to the primacy by Elizabeth (1558) and held office for fifteen years; "Parker's best energies were devoted to defining more accurately the discipline and belief of the newly constituted church of England, and to bringing about a general conformity; passed the Thirty-Nine Articles in the convocation in 1562; issued his *Advertisements* in 1566; his determination to withstand and if necessary to repress the growing boldness of the Puritan party; his last measure—the Metropolitan Visitation; died in 1575. Distinguished throughout by his retiring

disposition, vigorous intellect, strong will, and his great administrative ability

RALEIGH, SIR WALTER—Born in 1552, went on a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland in 1580 with Sir Humphray Gilbert, obtained military employment in Ireland, in 1580, where he took part in the ruthless massacre of Smerwick colonised Virginia in 1584, took an active part in the defence of the country against the Armada, penetrated to the Isthmus of Darien in 1592 but ordered by the Queen to return disgraced for marrying secretly Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of Elizabeth's maids of honour led an expedition to Guiana in 1595 in search of 'El Dorado'—the fabled land of gold, accompanied Essex in his Cadiz expedition of 1596, and joined in the Azores expedition next year dismissed from court on James I's accession, shortly after, charged with complicity in Lord Cobham's plot in favour of Lady Arabella Stuart and sentenced to death, but kept a prisoner in the Tower for 12 years released in 1617 to conduct an expedition to Guiana in search of gold, but returned unsuccessful, coldly received by James for his ill success and executed on his old sentence (1618)

SHAKESPEARE WILLIAM—Born in 1564 at Stratford-on-Avon, his father was a well to do tradesman 'whose fortunes however had begun to decline married Anne Hathaway at the age of 19, went to try his fortunes in London at the age of 22 and became an actor, gradually he became a play wright and poet, wrote thirty-seven plays besides his sonnets retired to Stratford in 1610, where he died six years later

SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP—Son of Sir Henry Sidney, the nephew of the Earl of Leicester and the son in law of Sir Francis Walsingham, passing some years abroad, entered Elizabeth's court in 1575, sent by the Queen on a special mission to Vienna (1576) to form a Protestant league against Spain, desired to offer himself as a candidate for the Polish throne in 1585 but was restrained by the Queen appointed Governor of Flushing in the Netherlands where he distinguished himself as a soldier, received a mortal wound at the battle of Zutphen and died (1586), regarded both at home and abroad 'as the type of what a chivalrous gentleman should be', was a famous scholar and poet, a wise politician, a man of lofty morality and deep religious feeling, his character is well illustrated in the well-known story of his refusing a draught of water when fainting on the field of battle so that it might be given to a wounded soldier.

Somerset, Edward Seymour, Duke of—rose into importance with the marriage of his sister, Jane Symour, to Henry VIII; became one of the leaders of the Reformed party at the Court, and being employed in military and administrative services showed considerable ability; created Earl of Hertford (1537); sent to Scotland by Henry, captured and sacked Edinburgh and Leith, and thence to France where achieved successes near Boulogne (1544); appointed as one of the Council of Executors by Henry's will, and on Henry's death managed to get himself declared Lord Protector of the Realm and created Duke of Somerset; invaded Scotland to force on the marriage between his nephew King Edward VI and the young Queen Mary of Scots, and won the battle of Pinkie Cleugh (1547), though failed in his object; re-opened the war in France, but was worsted near Boulogne; at home rashly pushed on the Reformation ordered the abolition of the Mass, directed to destroy the pictures and images in the Churches, and introduced the First English Prayer Book and enforced it by the First Act of uniformity (1549); brought a Bill of Attainder against his brother, Lord Seymour of Dudley, who tried to overthrow his government, and had him executed; suppressed the risings in defence of old religion in Devonshire, but displayed no vigour in dealing with agrarian rebels of Norfolk (1549); hence removed from power by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who suppressed the Norfolk rising with severity, and sent to the Tower; being released, tried to regain his influence in the Council, but was executed by Northumberland (Warwick) on a charge of felony (1552); honest and well-meaning, he was loved by many in spite of his want of judgment and foresight.

APPENDIX C.

Miscellaneous.

'ASSOCIATION, THE BOND OF'—Formed in 1584, after the Throckmorton conspiracy, to organise "a universal vigilance committee" to protect the life of Queen Elizabeth and to exclude from succession any one in whose favour the queen's life should be attempted: it was primarily directed against the Queen of Scots.

'BEGGARS, THE'—Members of the political league of the nobles in the Netherlands who petitioned the Regent in 1566 to suspend the Inquisition as it was likely to lead to a rebellion.

'COUNCIL OF BLOOD'—The court of justice organised by the Duke of Alva, who called it the 'Council of Disorders', for trial of sedition and heresy. It was a most iniquitous tribunal ever set up and the people called it the Council of Blood. "The prosecution resembled a massacre rather than a judicial proceeding" and was responsible for the death of over 18 thousand people. It was the direct cause of the Revolt of the Netherlands.

'CASKET LETTERS'—Letters purported to be written by Mary Queen of Scots to Bothwell, full of passionate love for him and containing schemes for the murder of her husband Darnley; the casket with the letters was discovered upon one of Bothwell's servants in June 1567; the Scottish Parliament accepted them as genuine, charged Mary as guilty of Darnley murder, and forced her to sign an abdication; modern research treats them as forgeries.

'Câteau Cambresis, Treaty of'—concluded between France, Spain, England (1559): Milan and Naples remained in possession of Spain, France ceded Savoy, Corsica, and nearly two hundred forts in Italy and the Low countries to Spain, but retained Calais. It closed the long struggle between France and Spain for the possession of Italy. The Empire and Spain became henceforth separated, and the danger of the formation of a great Hapsburg monarchy that would threaten the independence of the lesser states of Europe was averted. France also recognised the succession of Elizabeth.

'COMPROMISE' THE—Political league of the nobles in the Netherlands.

'CONGREGATION, LORDS OF THE'—The League of the Scottish lords who signed the First Covenant (1557) to work together in demanding the introduction of the English Book of Common Prayer and having free Protestant preachings in their churches.

'COUNCIL OF TRENT'—The general council of the church of Rome which met at intervals between 1542—1563 to remove the abuses in the Papacy and for defining the orthodox Romanist doctrines.

"ECCLESIASTICAL RESERVATION"—A clause incorporated at the instance of the Catholics in the terms of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) which concluded the war for the Reformed faith between the Catholic Emperor Charles V of Germany and the Protestant princes of that country united in the League of Schmalkalden. It was settled that every prince should be allowed to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism and should have the right to make his religion the worship of his people. The Catholics however insisted that ecclesiastical princes i.e. bishops and abbots on becoming Protestants should resign their offices and revenues, and this term was finally made a part of the treaty.

'HIGH COMMISSION COURT'—A judicial committee established by Elizabeth to inquire into the offences against the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, heresy, adulteries, and other ecclesiastical offences; abolished by the Act of the Long Parliament in 1641.

'HUGUENOTS'—Apparently meaning, a crowd hastily gathered: referred the Protestants in France.

- 'MONOPOLIES'—Exclusive right of trading in particular classes of goods, conferred by the patents issued by the Crown. In England the first attack upon such power of the Crown was made in 1597 when the Commons sent an address to Elizabeth against the abuse of Monopolies, but an evasive reply was given. In 1601 after a bitter debate of four days, the queen thought it wise to yield and caused most of the patents to be revoked.

'NAVARRÉ'—An inland province of northern Spain; "it is bounded on the N. by France, on the E. by Huesca and Zaragoza, on the S. by Zaragoza and Longrono, and on the W. by Alava and Guipuzcoa, It is traversed from east to west by the Pyrenees and by the Cantabrian mountains, their continuation in the west; and almost the whole of the province is overrun by ramification of this great central cordillera, which on the north-east especially presents an almost impassable barrier, and encloses numberless secluded pastoral valley". At the time of the Romans it was part of the Hispania Terraconensis but never thoroughly subjugated; in 778 Charlemagne brought it

under his control but it soon threw off his yoke; Garcias Ximenez is the first independent king of Navarre; his successor Sancho III. became king of Castile and Aragon. Aragon and Navarre remained united for sometime, till it was united to the crown of France in the reign of Philip the Fair. Again it separated on the death of Charles IV. and Joana II. became the Queen of Navarre (1329). Her granddaughter Blunche was married to John, Ferdinand of Aragon who after his wife's death seized Navarre and was succeeded by his daughter Eleanor (1479). She was succeeded by her grandson Francis who, in his turn, was succeeded by his sister Catharine, wife of Jean D Albert, grand-father of Henry IV. In 1512 Catharine was deprived of the whole of the Spanish Navarre by Ferdinand the Catholic, the French Navarre afterwards merging in France on the accession of Henry IV.

'SPANISH MONOPOLY'—The so-called monopoly of Spain in trade and territorial possessions in the New World since the days of Columbus, later on ratified by a Bull of Pope Alexander VI. The English had no respect for the Papal Bull, and saw no reason for recognising the right thus asserted by Spain. Philip II. of Spain had prohibited the English trade in the Indies on pain of death, and it was Drake, England's greatest* sea-captain, who first challenged this prohibition and successfully broke through the Spanish Monopoly.

'SUPREMACY, ACT OF'—The first Act passed in 1534 enacting that the king was the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England with powers to deal with heresies and church abuses. A Second Act passed in the same year extended these powers to treason. The Acts were repealed by Mary in 1554. The Third Act of Supremacy was passed in 1559, being the first Act of Queen Elizabeth, and called, the Act for Restoring to the Crown the 'Ancient Jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical and spiritual. It revived the protestant statute of Edward regarding the sacrament of the altar. "All spiritual jurisdiction was annexed to the Crown and the sovereign was empowered to exercise it by commissioners appointed under the great seal. All ecclesiastical, and most civil magistrates and officers, were required, under the pain of loss of office and deprivation of benefice with disability to hold either in future, to take an oath that the Queen was the only supreme governor of the realm in spiritual as well as temporal causes and that no foreign prince or prelate had or ought to have, any spiritual authority within this realm". The ancient statutes against Lollardy were repealed. The ecclesiastical commissioners were forbidden to declare any matter

to be heresy but such as had been decided to be so either by the scripture or any of the first four general councils. The maintenance of foreign authority within England, by writing, printing or preaching, was made punishable, for the first offence, by fine and imprisonment; for the second, by penalties of præmunire; and for the third, by death.

'UNIFORMITY, ACT OF'—The first Act passed in 1549 ordering the use of the Book of Common Prayer by all ministers, under the penalty of forfeiture of stipend and imprisonment for six months. It was re-enacted in 1559 restoring the Protestant Liturgy of Edward VI. and re-establishing the Book of Common Prayer. A fine of 1s. on all who should absent themselves from the Church on Sundays and holy days. It contained only two important deviations from the Prayer Book of Edward VI.—the first consisting in the omission of a prayer to be delivered from the "tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," and the second in substituting words indicating some sort of 'real presence', though not affirming the presence to be corporeal. The first was done for conciliating the Roman Catholics, and the second, for conciliating the Calvinists.

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TEST QUESTIONS.

1. Indicate generally the spirit of the Elizabethan Age, and its moral and material achievements.
2. Sketch briefly the early life and career of Elizabeth up to her accession.
3. Give an estimate of the character of Queen Elizabeth. (C. U. 1918).
4. Discuss the personal character of Elizabeth with special reference to the remarks of Græen and Creighton. (C. U. 1923).
5. Examine the points of dispute regarding the succession of Elizabeth to the English throne, and show how the succession question affected the international politics of her reign. (C. U. 1917).
6. What dangers faced Elizabeth on her accession to the throne, and how did she overcome them? (C. U. 1919).
7. What were the peculiar difficulties which Elizabeth had to face at her accession to the throne? Indicate the sources of her strength which enabled her successfully to fight with those difficulties. (C. U. 1921).
8. 'Scarcely any English sovereign has been exposed at the moment of accession to such dangers as was Elizabeth'. Explain the above statement of Professor Seeley with special reference to his views about the 'peculiar nature' and the 'appalling magnitude' of those dangers. (C. U. 1924).
9. What were the causes of the Reformation? What were its results? (C. U. 1922).
10. What was the attitude of Emperor Charles V towards the Lutheran movement and what were its results?
11. Give a brief history of the English Reformation from the reign of Henry VIII up to the accession of Elizabeth.
12. "The Scottish Reformation in its origin was essentially a popular movement." Explain.
13. What were the chief ecclesiastical difficulties confronting Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign? Give the main points of her Church settlement. (C. U. 1917).
14. What were the different religious parties in England at the accession of Elizabeth? Say what you know of her personal faith

and the policy she preferred to adopt with regard to religious questions.

15. How far did Elizabeth effect the 'nationalisation' of the English Church? Give a brief account of her ecclesiastical system.

16. What were the chief provisions of the Act of Supremacy and the Third Act of Uniformity of 1559? State the religious difficulties that these Acts were meant to overcome. (C. U. 1918).

17. Point out the effects of the Elizabethan settlement in England. How far this settlement was maintained and furthered by Archbishops Parker and Whitgift?

18. Explain the international importance of Scotland in the latter half of the Sixteenth Century. (C. U. 1921).

19. In what respects was Elizabeth's theory of Church and State different from Scotch Calvinism? Explain the motives which induced her to send help to the Lords of the Congregation? (C. U. 1921).

20. Trace the events, and analyse the political considerations leading to the Treaty of Edinburgh (Leith) in 1560. (C. U. 1916).

21. Show how the Reformation in Scotland differed from that in England. Give a sketch of the situation in Scotland at the Treaty of Edinburgh. (C. U. 1918).

22. Sketch the early career of Mary Queen of Scots till her return from France to Scotland in 1561.

23. Mention the difficulties which Mary Stuart had to face with on her return to Scotland. What policy did she adopt at the time and how far was it successful?

24. 'The accession of Mary Stuart in Scotland brought home a new danger to Elizabeth'. Discuss.

25. Compare and contrast Elizabeth and Mary Stuart as regards their personal character, and their respective policies and aims.

26. Estimate the international importance of the various marriages and proposed marriages of Mary Queen of Scots. (C. U. 1918).

27. Show the national and international significance of the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with Darnley. Mention the matrimonial alliances possible for Mary before this marriage, and show their political importance. (C. U. 1916).

28. Give a short account of the career of Mary Queen of Scots from her accession to her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle. (C. U. 1916-17).

29. What were the effects of the murder of Darnley? How far, in your own opinion, Mary was implicated in the affair? Give reasons for your answer.

30. Trace the circumstances that led to the downfall of Mary Queen of Scots. Explain the attitude of Elizabeth towards her at the time.

31. What were the chief causes of the failure of Mary Stuart as a ruler. (C. U. 1923).

32. Examine the foreign relations of Elizabeth with Scotland, France and Spain during the first five years of her reign. (C. U. 1918).

33. Explain the significance of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, what were the principal possessions of Spain at the time? (C. U. 1918).

34. Examine the foreign policy of Philip II with special reference to his early relations with Elizabeth.

35. Give an account of Elizabeth's policy towards the Netherlands. (C. U. 1916).

36. Sketch the career of Alva in the Netherlands. Examine Elizabeth's attitude to the Netherlands in Alva's time. (C. U. 1916-19)

37. Criticise, in the light of Beesley's remarks, the policy of Elizabeth in withholding vigorous support from the Huguenots and the revolted Dutch. (C. U. 1923).

38. Give a short account of the career of William of Nassau Prince of Orange. (C. U. 1918).

39. Give the general causes of the revolt of the Netherlands. Indicate the parts played by Alva, Requesens, Don John, and Prince of Parma in it.

40. To Elizabeth the Revolt of the Netherlands was 'a bridle of Spain which kept war out of her own gate.' Amplify the statement.

41. Analyse carefully the relations between England and France from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to 1587. (C. U. 1922).

42. What causes led to the formation of the 'League'? Show how far it accomplished its purposes? (C. U. 1919).

43. What led to the 'War of the Three Henries'? State the historical significance of the war. (C. U. 1919).

44. What is meant by Counter-Reformation? How far did it affect the history of England during the reign of Elizabeth? (C. U. 1924).

45. Examine Elizabeth's early relations with the Papacy. Show how far her refusal to recognise the Council of Trent was decisive in marking Elizabeth's position.

46. Discuss the attitude of Pope Pius V to Elizabeth. Write full historical notes on the Bull of Excommunication of 1570. (C. U. 1919, 22).

47. Describe the leading features of Elizabeth's policy towards the Catholics. (C. U. 1920).

48. Account for the extreme policy of Elizabeth against the Catholics, and state the main provisions of the Act of Uniformity of 1559. (C. U. 1922).

49. 'The presence of Alva in the Netherlands was a far less peril than the presence of Mary (Queen of Scots) in Carlisle'. Why? Indicate in this connection the effects of Mary's flight into England.

50. Dwell on the main causes of the Aristocratic Plots in England and indicate their general effects.

51. 'A defensive alliance with France was the corner stone of Elizabeth's foreign policy.' Justify the statement, with reference to the terms of the treaty of Blois and the circumstances leading to it. (C. U. 1921).

52. Examine the purposes of, give an account of, and estimate the results of the following plots—Ridolfi's Plot; Throckmorton's Plot. (C. U. 1918).

53. 'The rack seldom stood idle in the Tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth's reign.' Indicate the nature and extent of the Elizabethan persecution of the Catholics, and compare and contrast it with the Marian persecution of the Protestants.

54. Sketch the activity of the Jesuits in Elizabeth's time. (C. U. 1917, 19, 23).

55. What were the claims of Mary Queen of Scots to the English throne? Examine the attitude of Elizabeth towards the Queen of Scots from the battle of Langside to Mary's death. (C. U. 1916).

56. Examine the circumstances which led Elizabeth to consent to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots? What were the results of Mary's death? (C. U. 1919).

57. Can you justify the treatment of Elizabeth towards Mary Queen of Scots? What were the consequences of Mary's execution on international affairs. (C. U. 1922).

58. Trace the course of events that led to the execution of Mary. What special features of Elizabeth's character do you notice

in her general attitude towards the Scottish queen and her conduct in connection with the execution. (C. U. 1924).

59. Justify or condemn the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. (C. U. 1920).

60. 'The scaffold of Fotheringay was to be the prelude to the scaffold of Whitehall.' Examine the statement.

61. Trace the history of the Puritans during Elizabeth's reign. Show the connection of their movement with the growth of party government. (C. U. 1918).

62. 'The Elizabethan persecution of the Puritans was responsible for the birth of a large mass of literature, libellous as well as serious'. Examine the statement.

63. Estimate the naval power of Spain and England in the middle of the sixteenth century. In what light was piracy regarded as a factor of international polity in Europe of the sixteenth century? Who were the 'Sea-dogs' and why were they so called?

64. Write a short essay on the English maritime enterprise in the times of Elizabeth. (C. U. 1917).

65. Trace the course of events which led Philip II of Spain to pass from friendship for Queen Elizabeth to open hostility. (C. U. 1920).

66. Give in outline the causes, the course, the results of the Armada. (C. U. 1919).

67. State the causes and effects of the Elizabethan naval war with Spain. (C. U. 1922).

68. Briefly state the religious and political causes of war between England and Spain in Elizabeth's reign. Estimate the effects of the defeat of the Armada on England, France and the Netherlands. (C. U. 1921, 16).

69. In what different parts of the world was the English struggle with Spain carried on? Account for England's success. (C. U. 1918).

70. Show how the identification of Protestantism and patriotism saved England from Spain. (C. U. 1916).

71. (a) 'I sent my ships against men', said Philip, "not against the seas". It was in nobler tone that England owned her debt to the storm that drove the Armada to its doom.

(b) 'The Armada was not defeated by a storm, any more than Napoleon's Russian expedition by a frost.'

Attempt a critical account of the Spanish expedition in the

light of the above conflicting remarks, and estimate the effects of its failure on English and European politics. (C. U. 1924).

*72. Reconcile the statement that Elizabeth was one of the most *despotic monarchs* and at the same time *extraordinarily popular*. Account for the queen's popularity in this connection.

73. What were the main features of Elizabeth's domestic policy and what were its results?

74. 'It may be said that never sovereign was more recklessly devoted to peace than Elizabeth. If not "peace at any price" yet "peace at any price short of throne and life" was her maxim.'

Explain and comment upon Professor Seeley's views about Elizabeth's 'policy of peace' as enunciated above. (C. U. 1924).

75. Explain the attitude of Elizabeth regarding her marriage. Write a note on the Alencon marriage.

76. Give an estimate of the character and statesmanship of William Cecil Lord Burleigh. (C. U. 1920, 22).

77. Indicate the parts played in English history by Parker, Drake, William Cecil (Lord Burleigh) Walsingham. (C. U. 1921).

78. Write a short essay on the relations between Crown and Parliament during Elizabeth's reign. (C. U. 1916).

79. 'The slavish Parliament of Henry VIII grew into the murmuring Parliament of Elizabeth'. Explain, and illustrate the relation between Elizabeth and her Parliaments.

80. Explain the causes of the growing independence of the House of Commons in Elizabeth's reign, and briefly describe the relations between the Crown and the Parliament towards the close of the prescribed period. (C. U. 1921).

81. Discuss the principles underlying the grant of monopolies in Elizabeth's time. (C. U. 1923).

82. Trace the political development of the English during the reign of Elizabeth. (C. U. 1924).

83. Give an account of the economic condition of England during the latter half of the sixteenth century. (C. U. 1920, 22).

84. What were the causes of the increase of poverty in the sixteenth century? Give an account of the Poor Law of 1601. (C. U. 1918).

85. Describe the maritime and trade activity of Englishmen during Elizabethan period. (C. U. 1923).

86. Give an account of the growth of English commerce and manufacture during the reign of Elizabeth. (C. U. 1924).

87. Write a short essay on English colonial enterprise in the time of Elizabeth. (C. U. 1916).

88. Give some account of the expansion of England during the reign of Elizabeth. (C. U. 1918).

89. Review the careers of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Walter Raleigh, bringing out clearly 'how many of the characteristics of modern England seem to begin with them'. (C. U. 1924).

90. Account for the growth of commerce and industry in England towards the close of the sixteenth century. How far may Elizabeth be said to have been the founder of modern England. (C. U. 1921).

91. Give a short account of the life and literature in England during the reign of Elizabeth. (C. U. 1923).

92. Explain the policy of the Tudors towards Ireland with special reference to Elizabeth. (C. U. 1921).

93. Describe the attitude of Elizabeth towards Ireland. (C. U. 1920).

94. Describe the Irish policy of Elizabeth (C. U. 1923).

95. Discuss the measures adopted by Elizabeth towards the settlement of the Irish question. How far were they successful in restoring peace and order in England (C. U. 1924).

96. Give an account of the risings of Desmond and Tyrone in Ireland. Give also a general account of the part played by Ireland in the Roman Catholic schemes against Elizabeth. (C. U. 1918).

97. 'During the whole of the reign, Ireland had been a cause of trouble and anxiety. Elizabeth's treatment of that unhappy country was not more creditable or successful than that of other English statesmen before and after her.' Discuss (C. U. 1922).

98. Explain clearly the relations between Henry IV and Elizabeth. Compare and contrast the two sovereigns as regards their aims and policies, and explain in this connection the statement of Henry 'She was my other self.'

99. Amplify the statement—"The spirit of the Elizabethan erahad given birth to a mass of poetry and prose which ranks in literary merit with the product of the greatest literary epochs in the world's history."

100. Write a short essay on the cause of the literary activity in the times of Elizabeth (C. U. 1919).

101. What is the import of the phrase 'The spacious times of Queen Elizabeth?' Give short notes on Edmund Spenser, Christopher Marlowe, Sir Francis Drake and Sir Francis Bacon (C. U. 1917).

102. Give the circumstances under which the Elizabethan Drama grew up. Name some of the representative English dramatists and sketch the career of the most prominent of them.

103. Compare the England of 1558 with the England of 1603 (C. U. 1921).

104. To what extent was Elizabeth's character reflected in her ecclesiastical and foreign policy (C. U. 1920).

105. Write biographical notes on :—

- (a) Archbishop Parker, (b) Earl of Leicester, (c) Earl of Essex, (d) Duke of Northumberland (John Dudley), (e) Bothwell, (f) Henry Duke of Guise, (g) Henry of Navarre.

106. Write historical notes on :—

Religious Peace of Augsburg; Popish recusants; Parker's Advertisements; Propheysings, Martin Marprelate Tracts; Ecclesiastical Polity; Bull of Excommunication; Seminary Priests; the Brownists; the 'Compromise'; the Interim; the Politiques; the Sea-Beggars; the Lords of Congregation; the battle of Langside; Bond of Association; Spanish Monopoly; Howard's expedition against Cadiz; Casket Letters; Raid of Ruthven; Gowrie Plot; Norfolk conspiracy; Babington Plot; Treaty or Union of Utrecht; Pacification of Ghent; Massacre of Smerwick; Treaty of Blois; Plummer's Hall case; Holinshed's Chronicle.

107. Explain and amplify the statements :—

- (a) "She (Elizabeth) took to diplomacy with a woman's thoroughness and a woman's wilfulness."
- (b) "By the accession of Elizabeth and the Scotch Reformation which immediately followed, Protestantism reached its high water mark in Europe."
- (c) "Circumstances might compel her (Elizabeth) to be the protector of foreign Protestants; but neither then nor at any time did she desire to pose in that character."
- (d) "The English of Elizabeth's reign, had suddenly, as it seemed, developed a new and aggressive maritime energy" (C. U. 1920).
- (e) 'As yet the interest of Elizabeth's reign had been political and material.....But from the moment when the Armada drifted back broken to Ferrol, the figures of warriors and statesmen were dwarfed by the grander figures of poets and philosophers' (C. U. 1924).

- (7) 'The great question decided in the sixteenth century was that states might exist without submitting to the Papal jurisdiction; and *England was the country on which the fate of Protestantism depended?* (C. U. 1923).
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